

# BHAGAVADGĪTĀNUVĀDA

A STUDY IN TRANSCULTURAL TRANSLATION

WINAND M. CALLEWAERT

SHILANAND DEVERAJ



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**“The Gītā is in my opinion a very easy book to understand. It satisfies both the intellect and the heart. It is thus both philosophical and devotional. Its appeal is universal. The language is incredibly simple.**

**“But I, nevertheless, think that there should be an authoritative version in each vernacular, and the translation should be so prepared as to avoid technicalities and in a manner that would make the teaching of the Gītā intelligible to the average man.**

**“The suggestion is not intended in any way to supplement the original. For, I reiterate my opinion that every Hindu boy or girl should know Sanskrit.”**

**1927**

**MAHATMA GANDHI**







## P R E F A C E

Available in about 75 different languages and in nearly 2,000 different translations, the Bhagavad Gītā<sup>1</sup> is, after the Bible, probably the most translated (religious) work in world literature. "Its impact on the West has been almost as great as its impact on India"<sup>2</sup>.

Notwithstanding this popularity of the Gītā in India and abroad, no scientific and detailed survey has been made of the existing translations. Such a survey is not only interesting in order to make a proper assessment of the impact of the Gītā on literature and on ethics: it is also a model tool for the transcultural translator.

Considering the amount and the diversity of languages and cultures into which it has been rendered, crossing all barriers of cultures, the Gītā text is by itself a field of research; from this text translation techniques can be compared and assessed and rules can be laid down for the translation of key-words. At the same time, a survey of the existing translations may be useful for the modern scholars who are concerned with the rendering of the text into languages which are in continuous development and evolution.

In 1790, at the dawn of Indological studies, William Jones aptly remarked: "One correct version of any celebrated Hindu book would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays that could be composed on the same subject"<sup>3</sup>.

A good transcultural translation cannot be made once and for all. Target languages are in constant development and translators must continually renew their interiorizing understanding of the source text and the dynamic expression of the target language. The specific problems

1. Even if spelt differently in a quotation, the Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā is henceforth referred to as SBG, BG or Gītā. The Mahābhārata is referred to as MBh.
2. R. ZAEHNER, *Concordant Discord*, (Gifford Lectures, 1967-69), Oxford, 1970, p. 119.
3. Quoted in D. P. SINGHAL, *India and World Civilization*, Calcutta, 1972, p. 243.



with regard to the translation of the Gītā arise mainly from the fact that it is a Scripture with an inspiring message, a mystical content and a literary presentation (p. 84f.). Consequently, only after an interiorization of the message can the translator re-formulate the initial inspiration, thus making the new disciple (i.e. the reader) in his or her new situation, regain the original experience and insight (p. 72f.).

Commentaries (p. 85f.) should not be ignored by the translator of the Gītā. When written in Sanskrit they may give auxiliary clues to establish the critical text because often direct quotations are given. Also, they help to clarify the meaning of words since the ancient commentators may have had a better feeling with regard to the cultural setting and the original language of the Gītā.

Our bibliographical survey was closed in March 1982. Libraries and research institutes have been visited in Bangalore, Benares, Calcutta, Delhi, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Madras, Mysore and Tirupatti; also in Berlin, Bonn, Brussels, Ghent, Leiden, Leuven, London, Paris and Rome. We gladly thank all the persons in these institutes for their assistance.

Although being very impressive (pp. 113ff.), the lists of translations in about 75 languages cannot be complete. Numerous "translations" in Indian languages should be available in manuscript form. Consulting e.g. the huge collection of films of the Nepal Preservation Project, West Berlin, with copies of more than 60,000 Mss. in Nepal, we noted about 300 entries on the Gītā, of which several refer to "Nepari translations" and "Nepalese translations" or were "in Maithili script" (April 1982).

It is difficult to establish in what Indian language the first "translation" of the Gītā was produced. If the Marathi Jñāneśvarī (ca. 1270) is more a paraphrase than a translation, Panikkar's rendering into Malayalam (ca. 1400, see p. 228) may be said to be the first Indian translation.

'Akbar's' translation into Persian (p. 334f.) may have been the first translation into a non-Indian language (see also Javanese, ca. 1000, p. 337), while Wilkins' English translation (30th May 1785, see p. 237) was the first of a very impressive list. English translations not only served as source-text for renderings into other European languages (see e.g. p. 270, No. 51) but also Indian languages (see p. 281, No. 184).

The Gītā has been written on all kinds of material and in all sizes. The text fits in a small needle-box and has also been edited with 18 commentaries on 3,304 folios (see p. 26 and p. 44). Some translations



## PREFACE

have been enhanced with summaries, word-lists, general indexes, glossaries, a concordance, lists of persons and epithets, notes on the pronunciation of Sanskrit, etc. (see p. 43 and Index).

Finally, we have incorporated many bibliographical references to Commentaries (Ch. III) and to Translations in different languages (Chs. IVf.). Besides these, we have given in the Bibliographical List (p. 342f.) titles of books and articles which may be useful to a study of the Gītā. In the Index most important key-words in the present work have been listed.

To Shilanand Hemraj (formerly Piet Hemeryckx) goes the credit of conceiving the idea of this study and of collecting most of its data.

Fr. William Tigga, S.J., Director, and the staff and workers of the Catholic Press, Ranchi, have been most accommodating in processing the manuscripts and deserve special gratitude.

*Leuven, December 1982*

WINAND M. CALLEWAERT  
SHILANAND HEMRAJ







# CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Contents	xi
Abbreviations and notes on transliteration	xvi
Introduction: The Gītā and Biblical Translation	1
1. Some aids for Bible translation	2
2. Transmission of Biblical texts	3
a. The Hebrew text	3
b. The Greek text	4
3. Translation-aids for the Gītā	8
1. The Original Text of the Bhagavadgītā	12
0. Introduction	12
1. The Gītā: oral transmission	14
2. The Gītā: written transmission	17
a. Writing material in ancient India	17
b. The scripts	18
c. Text-emendation	19
3. Editions of the Gītā	23
a. Editions within the Mahābhārata	23
b. Manuscripts of the Gītā	26
c. Printed editions of the Gītā	27
d. Main editions of the Gītā, chronologically arranged	30
e. The Belvalkar critical edition of the Gītā	32
f. Different recensions of the Gītā	36
4. The translator's concerns beyond the text	39
a. The division of the Gītā	39
b. Selective editions of the BG	44
c. The BG in art	45
2. A 'Dynamic Equivalence' Translation	48
1. Translating a Scripture	48
a. The inspiring message of the Gītā	49
b. The mystical content	53
c. The literary presentation of the Gītā	55



2. The authorship and composition of the Gītā	59
a. The traditional author	59
b. The historicity of the MBh war	61
c. The composition of the MBh	63
d. Multiple authorship of the Gītā	64
e. The composition of the BG: different opinions	67
f. The Gītā and Buddhism	69
3. The method of translation	71
a. The 'Dynamic Equivalence' translation	72
b. The Indian tradition and setting	75
c. Illustrating the theory of DE translation	78
4. Conclusion	83
 3. Commentaries on the Gītā	 85
1. The translator and commentaries	85
2. Different schools of commentators	87
3. Classification of the early commentators	88
a. Commentators before Śankara	88
b. Advaita commentators	89
c. Viśishtādvaita commentators	90
d. Dvaita commentators	91
e. Dvaitādvaita commentators and the 'Kashmirians'	92
f. Śuddhādvaita commentators	93
g. The first vernacular commentators	93
h. Some recent commentaries	94
4. List of Sanskrit commentaries and related works	96
a. Subtitles of (mostly anonymous) Gītā commentaries	96
b. Important collections of Gītā commentaries	97
c. List of Sanskrit commentaries	98
 4. Translations into Indian Languages	 111
0. Introduction	111
a. General survey of Gītā-translations	113
b. Comparative survey of Gītā-translations	116
Indo-Aryan group	
1. Sanskrit	120
2. Prakrit	121
3. Hindi	122
a. A definition of Hindi	122
b. The development of literary Hindi	124
c. Some early Hindi versions of the BG	125
d. Samples of Hindi renderings of BG 1.1	130



e. Samples of Hindi renderings of BG 2.47	137
f. List of Hindi translations	142
4. Urdu	157
5. Kashmiri	159
6. Punjabi	159
7. Dogri	161
8. Sindhi	162
9. Marvari (Rajasthani)	164
10. Mevari	165
11. Malvi	166
12. Braj	166
13. Kanauji	170
14. Kumaoni	170
15. Nepali	170
16. Avadhi	171
17. Bhojpuri	171
18. Maithili	172
19. Bengali	173
20. Assamese	187
21. Oriya	189
22. Gujarati	192
23. Marathi	198
24. Konkani	209
25. Sinhala	210
Dravidian group	
26. Telugu	210
27. Tamil	217
28. Kannada	223
29. Malayalam	228
Mon-Khmer group	
30. Khasi	231
Tibeto-Burmese group	
31. Manipuri (and Tripuri)	232
32. Tibetan	232
Munda group	
33. Ho-Mundari	233
34. Santali	233
5. Translations into English	234
1. Historical survey	234
a. Wilkins	237
b. Thomson	240
c. Telang	240

d. Davies	241
e. Ganguli	242
f. Arnold	243
g. Besant	244
h. M. N. and R. C. Dutt	245
i. The 20th century	246
2. Translations by scholars, svāmīs and poets	246
3. Recent methodic approaches	251
4. Samples of BG 1.1	255
5. Samples of BG 2.47	262
6. List of English translations	267
6. Translations into Other Languages	288
Western classics	
1. Latin	288
2. Greek (modern)	291
Germanic group (besides English)	
3. German	293
4. Yiddish	301
5. Dutch	301
6. Swedish	305
7. Norwegian	306
8. Danish	306
9. Icelandic	307
Romanic group	
10. French	307
11. French Creole	315
12. Spanish	315
13. Portuguese	316
14. Italian	317
15. Rumanian	319
Slavic group	
16. Russian	320
17. Polish	321
18. Czech	321
19. Slovak	322
20. Slovenian	322
21. Serbocroatian (and Bulgarian)	322
Baltic group	
22. Lithuanian	323
Caucasian group	
23. Georgian	323



Uralic group	
24. Finnish	323
25. Hungarian	324
Interlingual group	
26. Esperanto	324
Isolated language group	
27. Chinese	324
Altaic group	
28. Japanese	326
29. Mongolian (and Uzbek)	327
Semitic group	
30. Arabic	328
31. Hebrew	332
Iranian group	
32. Persian	333
West-Indonesian group	
33. Old Javanese	336
34. Javanese (and Sundanese)	338
35. Bahasa Indonesia (Malay)	338
36. Balinese	339
37. Malagasy	340
Kam Tai group	
38. Tai (Thai)	341
Supplementary Bibliography	342
Index	386

## MAIN ABBREVIATIONS

BG	Bhagavad Gītā
com.	commentary
DE	Dynamic Equivalence translation
FE	Formal Equivalence translation
MBh	Mahābhārata
Ms(s).	Manuscript(s)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
SBG	Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā
tr.	translation or translator
V.S.	Vikram Samvat
See also p. 342	

Out of consideration for the non-specialized reader, we have transliterated into Roman script most titles and terms in Indian languages, with simplified diacritical signs (except for quotations).

As a rule long vowels are marked (e.g. ā, ū, ī), the palatal ञ is written as ś and the retroflex ण is written as sh; e.g. Apabhramśa, Śaiva, Śankara, Krishna, Vaishnava, Rāmānuja, Rāmāyana. Names of modern Indian languages (e.g. Hindi, Marathi, etc.) are written without signs.

### *Reference system*

Each bibliographical list has an abbreviation, for easy cross-reference, e.g.

Com.	Commentaries of the Gītā (ch. 3.4.c)
Ed.	Editions of the Gītā (ch. 1.3.d)
Eng	English translations (ch. 5.6)
Fren	French translations (ch. 6.10)
Hin	Hindi translations (ch. 4.3)
Ital	Italian translations (ch. 6.14)
Tam	Tamil translations (ch. 4.27), etcetera



## INTRODUCTION

### THE GĪTĀ AND BIBLICAL TRANSLATION

For an assessment of the transcultural translations of the Gītā, one can profit much from a comparative study with Biblical translations, which started more than 2,000 years ago. No book equals the Bible in the number of languages in which it is rendered. "The Bible is the world's best-seller. Each year Unesco's world-list of translations and new publications shows the Bible firmly planted at the head..."<sup>1</sup>

The Hebrew Bible (i.e. the Old Testament) was translated into Greek and paraphrased in Aramaic before the common era (B.C.). In the second century A.D. the Greek New Testament existed in Syriac and Latin. After one millennium the number of translations had risen from 3 to 33 (22 European, 7 Asian and 4 African languages) and at the end of the 18th century there were translations in 71 languages, including minor languages from the Americas and Oceania. The big expansion came during the 19th century when a portion of the Bible was translated into about 500 more languages. By the end of 1978 another 1,000 languages were added to this impressive list: at that moment the complete Bible was available in 268 versions, the New Testament in 721 languages and a portion of the NT (usually the Gospel of Mark<sup>2</sup>) in 1,660 languages. This means that the Biblical message is now communicated in the tongue of 98 per cent of the world's population.

With due respect, however, for the generous contribution to Bible Societies by humble believers and for the arduous dedication of about 3,000 full-time Bible translators, we should not ignore the reaction of some Indians against a spirit of triumph or against a too zealous distribution.

"What though the Bible were translated in every tongue of the world? Is a patent medicine better than the Upanishads for being advertised in more languages than the Upanishads? An error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation nor does truth become error because nobody will see it. The Bible was a greater power when the early fathers preached it than it is today.

1. *The Gospel in Many Tongues*, The BFBS, London, 1965, p. 3.

2. With its 660 authentic verses in 16 chapters, the gospel according to Mark roughly corresponds in size to the Gītā, which has 700 verses in 18 chapters.

... I have never been curious enough to know in how many languages the Gita is translated."<sup>3</sup>

### 0.1. *Some aids for Bible translation*

Biblical translations have had an undeniable impact on the development of world literature and on the science of translation. This science is of special interest to us and we shall distinguish the different factors required for a good transcultural translation.

The original text of the Bible is, on the whole, well established and reliable. The Hebrew Bible is now available in a one-volume critical edition, in which are given the classical Masoretic text and a complete textual apparatus, based on the latest discoveries of the Dead Sea scrolls. This is a revision of the standard edition (R. Kittel and others) published by the Württemberg Bible Society (Stuttgart, 1978). The Greek New Testament has been edited by K. Aland and others (United Bible Societies, 1975) as a specific help for translators. B. Metzger prepared a Companion Volume in which the textual difficulties are explained. The British and Foreign Bible Societies prepared a special *Translator's New Testament* (London, 1973), with Introduction, English translation, Notes, Glossary, Appendix (on money, weights, measures, with maps)<sup>4</sup>.

### 3. M. K. GANDHI, *Young India*, 26 Feb. 1925.

Svāmī Chidbhavānanda comments:

"The popularity or usefulness of a book is not to be judged by the number of languages into which it is translated. The one solitary book that has been rendered into almost all the languages of the world is the Holy Bible. But an achievement of this type need not in itself be a hallmark of divine perfection. Political power, missionary zeal and material resources are factors capable of creating popularity for anything under the sun, not to speak of a book like the Holy Bible. Christendom has had the benefit of all these three simultaneously. But the position of the BG is different. The propagators of this book have never exploited extraneous power for their purpose. The translators of this book were actuated by the noble urge that the great ideals contained in it were highly beneficial to humanity." *SBG*, Tirupparaiturai, 1975, p. 42.

### 4. "The primary purpose of this book is to make available to those translators of the NT into their own mother tongue who depend on English for access to the sources of biblical scholarship, such help as is necessary for the making of effective translations in the languages of today.

"Any translator who has tried to reproduce from the Greek in a modern language the full character and power of the original in terms of close, natural equivalence knows the toughness of the problems posed by the nature of biblical language and the content and style of the NT books. It needs little imagination to realize how greatly these problems are accentuated when the translator must base his work on a translation in a language which is neither the original Greek



## 0.2. *Transmission of Biblical texts*

Around 1650 B.C. the first alphabetical script was introduced in pre-Israelite Canaan. This script was used for the first written documents of the Bible, first in the Old Hebrew form and later, from the 6th century onwards, in square Aramaic script. The early Canaanite script, as developed by the Phoenicians, was adopted by the Greeks and later on by the Romans who gave us the present-day 'Roman' script. The Jews copied their sacred literature in Hebrew mostly on lengthy leather scrolls, whereas the Christians wrote their Greek texts mainly on less expensive papyrus sheets, used on both sides<sup>1</sup>. In later times, and before the introduction of paper, refined skin or parchment was also used. Letters were written in capitals; they were hanging underneath the line, no space being left in between the words. The price was determined by counting the lines. Further details may be useful in understanding better the problems about Indian textual transmission.

### 0.2.a. The Hebrew text

As early as the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. the authoritative text of the Hebrew Bible was fixed. In 1947, the Isaiah scroll (1 Q Is<sup>d</sup>) written in the 2nd century B.C. was discovered in Qumram Cave No. 1, near the Dead Sea where it was hidden at the time of the First Jewish War (67-70 A.D.). This is a 7.34 metres long leather scroll, 26 cm high, with 54 columns and 29 lines per column of each 12 cm width, wrapped in linen and placed in a jar. Its consonantal text<sup>2</sup> (i.e. without vowel signs)

nor his mother tongue. The Translator's NT is an attempt to meet this situation. It is conceived as an aid for those who will use it as a bridge between the ancient Greek text and the languages and cultures of the modern world." *Op. cit.*, p. viii.

1. A scroll was made by sticking together separate sheets, and then winding the long strip around a stick, thus producing a 'volume' (<Latin *volvere*, to roll). The scroll was inconvenient to use and for easy reference the Christians began to use the leaf-form of book, made by folding sheets of papyrus together in the middle and sewing them together.
2. In order to preserve the correct pronunciation the practice began in the 5th century A.D. of indicating the vowels by 'pointing' small signs above and below the Hebrew consonants, without intruding in any way on the sacred original. Matters were facilitated when the first printed edition of the Rabbinic Bible appeared in 1517 at Venice, based on the late medieval 'textus receptus' of Jacob ben Chayyim. It agrees fully with the modern critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, which is based on the Leningrad Ms. of the Ben Asher Text, written ca. 1000 A.D. and to which an extensive critical apparatus has been added through the collation of about 2,500 Hebrew Mss.

For more details about the technique of Old Testament (i.e. Hebrew Bible) reading, see E. WÜRTHWEIN, *The Text of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1957; (this is a translation from German by P. Akroyd); 4th rev. German ed., Stuttgart, 1973.

showed a high degree of fidelity, even though it was copied at a time before the scribes could rely on the Masora (i.e. tradition) which acted as a 'protective hedge' around the canonical text.

Further research is going on at The Hebrew University Project, Jerusalem, and at The U.B.S. Hebrew Old Testament Text Critical Project, Freudenstadt. These projects adhere to the sound discipline of textual criticism, without giving in to conjectures on the basis of a single specimen of the Masoretic text. Since no autographs are available, the first stage of the Urtext, as actually written in separate units by the Biblical authors or redactors, cannot be considered. Yet, one can tackle the second stage of the 'accepted text', as repeated, copied and sometimes adapted by the Jewish community from after the Babylonian Exile to the Herodian Period (end 6th cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D.). This is a period of fluidity and initial standardization. Then, scribal changes stop; the 'received text' is thought to be literally inspired. Finally it is canonized and the fixed text of Masoretic vocalization allows no pluralistic reading any longer. Modern methods aim, in all freedom and honesty, at re-establishing the text of the earliest phases, when the writings became in fact Sacred Writ. Direct witnesses are provided by fragments of Mss. from Qumran and elsewhere. Indirect witnesses come from the ancient Greek (Septuagint) and Aramaic (Targum) versions<sup>3</sup>.

#### 0.2.b. The Greek text

The New Testament comprises mainly the Four Gospels (i.e. witnesses of faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah or Christ), the Acts of the Apostles and the Letters of St Paul, all composed and written down decades after the death of Christ. The reliability of the Greek text of the New Testament is even greater than that of the Hebrew Bible.

"With regard to its manuscript tradition the New Testament (NT) is not only in the most favoured, but also in the most difficult position of all the books of antiquity.

"It is most favoured because its earliest Mss., or at least parts of the text, come from a period no later than 150 years after their composition, while smaller fragments further reduce this distance in time to about 50 years. This distance between composition and earliest surviving manuscript is much greater for all other literary works preserved from antiquity — not infrequently a matter of 1,200 to 1,500 years. The difficulty posed by the Mss. of the NT lies precisely in the great number of them that have been preserved and require evaluation.

3. See J. SANDERS, 'Text and Canon: Concepts and Method', in *Jo. of Bibl. Lit.*, 98 (1979), 5-29; R. BATCHER and H. RUEGER, 'The Hebrew OT Project and the Translator', in *The Bible Translator*, 30 (1979), 326-36.



... Today more than 5,000 Mss. are known: the overwhelming majority of them are from the medieval and late medieval periods, but on occasion they also preserve readings from the early period. Apart from these primary witnesses to the text, there are also secondary witnesses, such as the early versions in Latin, Syriac, Coptic (Egyptian), Armenian and other versions, some of which date from the early centuries of Church history."<sup>4</sup>

The oldest available papyrus-fragment of the New Testament is 'p<sup>52</sup>', kept in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. It is a fragment of St John's Gospel, written in about 90 A.D. and copied in Egypt, possibly as early as 125 A.D., and preserved for many centuries by the dry sand in which it was buried. It contains the question of the Roman procurator Pilate to Jesus, standing before the judgment seat at Jerusalem, ca. 30 A.D. The most important manuscript is the 4th c. 'Codex Vaticanus' which is kept in the Vatican Library, Rome.

The Institute for NT Textual Research at the University of Münster (FGR) has a microfilm collection of 90 per cent of all NT Mss. With an average of 100 variants per copy, one has to consider about 500,000 textual differences which have crept in during 15 centuries of copying. In fact, the vast majority of the textual variants is unimportant and the original text can in most cases be reconstructed. Usually, modifications in manuscript transmission are unintentional and are due to scribal errors: misreadings of the exemplar being copied which result in omissions (e.g. haplography or single writing), repetitions (e.g. dittography or double writing), transpositions (e.g. because of similar ending, homoeoteleuton) and misinterpretations of abbreviations and word-divisions. Intentional changes are rare, and were introduced in all sincerity: scribes replace rare and difficult words (*lectio difficilior*) by more familiar ones, or they try to harmonize parallel texts, etc.

When John Gutenberg printed the first book (a Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible) by means of movable types ca. 1455 A.D., large numbers of completely identical copies started to be circulated. The first editions of the Greek New Testament, however, followed a 'Textus Receptus' (i.e. received form of text) which in case of the 16th century standard Stephanus edition was based only on 15 recent Mss. In 1734 J. Bengel reproduced the traditional text, but he marked 'superior readings' in his critical apparatus. Textual criticism reached full maturity only in K. von Tischendorf's 1872-edition, which has been improved since then,

4. K. JUNACK, 'The Reliability of the NT text from the perspective of textual criticism', in *The Bible Translator*, 29 (1978), 130ff.

For more details about the text of the NT, see B. METZGER, *The Text of the NT. Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, Oxford, 1968.

up to the 1975-edition of the United Bible Societies (or Nestle-Aland's 26th ed.). K. Junack confidently makes the following claims about the text of the NT:

"The text of the NT has been preserved with a greater degree of certainty than can be claimed for any other book of the ancient world because of

- (a) the abundant evidence of the manuscript tradition;
- (b) the unbroken continuity of manuscript evidence reaching back to the earliest period of the church;
- (c) the meticulous professional standards of the scribes who preserved the text;
- (d) the constant use of the text and its integration into the life of the church, both in its public liturgy and in the private devotions of individual Christians;
- (e) the development of the tools of textual criticism, with their sensitive methods for detecting scribal slips and errors.

No other work from antiquity meets the standards of textual certainty as completely and thoroughly as does the NT."<sup>5</sup>

Research on the text of the Bible has resulted in the critical establishment of a trustworthy text, although this does not reduce the translator's task to a mere, uncritical rendering of the text into the target-language. Therefore, besides the new, eclectic text ready for use, the United Bible Societies have also incorporated a critical apparatus, which covers approximately 1,400 passages which the translator has to consider on the basis of the evidence found in the manuscripts. In order to facilitate

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 139. The high degree of efficiency and accuracy in Biblical text-transmission is perhaps due to certain rules pertaining to the work of scribes, developed and enforced in certain monasteries:

"The following are examples of such regulations prepared for the renowned monastery of the Studium at Constantinople. About 800 A.D. the abbot of this monastery, Theodore the Studite, who was himself highly skilled in writing an elegant Greek hand, included in his rules for the monastery severe punishments for monks who were not careful in copying manuscripts. A diet of bread and water was the penalty set for the scribe who became so much interested in the subject-matter of what he was copying that he neglected his task of copying. Monks had to keep their parchment leaves neat and clean, on penalty of 130 penances. If anyone should take without permission another's quaternion (that is, the ruled and folded sheets of parchment), fifty penances were prescribed. If anyone should make more glue than he could use, at one time, and it should harden, he must do 50 penances. If a scribe broke his pen in a fit of temper (perhaps after having made some accidental blunder near the close of an otherwise perfectly copied sheet), he had to do 30 penances." From B. M. METZGER, *The Text of the New Testament*, Oxford, 1964, p. 19.



the translator's judgment about the importance of the witness, should any alternative reading be chosen, each of the 1,400 passages is marked with a letter which indicates the degree of certainty of the preferred reading. The letter A signifies that the text at hand is virtually certain (in 8.7% cases of the 1,400 passages analysed), while B indicates that there is some degree of doubt (in 32.3 % cases). The letter C means that there is considerable degree of doubt whether the text contains the superior reading (in 48.6% cases). This means that for at least 680 relevant passages the translator could consider an alternative choice from the apparatus. The letter D finally shows that there is a very high degree of doubt concerning the reading selected (in 10.4% cases, i.e. for 145 passages the translator is almost left free to make his own choice). In order to substantiate the Committee's choice for any letter A B C or D, and to facilitate decision-making, B. Metzger discusses all those 1,400 passages and a few others too in his *Textual commentary on the Greek NT*. This shows that even for the most authenticated text of antiquity (in spite of the sacred halo of inspiration by which a canonical text is usually surrounded) the active participation of the translator is still required. The United Bible Societies are convinced "that a translator should be involved in textual criticism, whether actively as a potential challenger of the readings within the text, or only as a mere observer, aware of the 'how' and 'why' of the decisions made"<sup>6</sup>.

The translator of the Bible has at his disposal all kinds of dictionaries and exegetical commentaries. The Analytical Greek Lexicon offers an alphabetical arrangement of every occurring inflexion of every word in the Greek NT, with a grammatical analysis of each word and a lexicographical illustration of the meanings. Each form is exactly named and traced to its root. The whole thus forms a precise analysis of the entire verbal contents of the NT. There are also various concordances, which list systematically every Greek word according to its occurrence, indicating the original case form and inflexions brought together with all relative, prefixed and compounded words<sup>7</sup>.

For an efficient analysis and comparison of different translations there are multilingual editions of the Bible, listing up to 25 different versions in parallel columns or in various polyglot combinations. The scholar who makes a survey of the existing translations of the Bible or a study of their

6. K. JUNACK, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

7. See e.g. *The Greek-English Analytical Concordance of the Greek-English NT*, Michigan, 1963.

history, may find much help in E. Nida, ed., *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*<sup>8</sup>, in which specimens from 1,250 languages are given.

### 0.3. Translation-aids for the Gītā

Although it is in no way our purpose to compare the Gītā with the Bible, it can be stated that a transcultural (esp. non-Indian) translator of the Gītā does not have at his disposal all the auxiliaries available to a Bible translator<sup>1</sup>. In fact, the uninitiated is at a loss when he has to find out which text is authoritative or when he has to search in the various catalogues of libraries for translations of the Gītā and for relevant commentaries.

The first useful list to works on the Gītā is the *Catalogus Catalogorum* compiled by T. Aufrecht and published in 3 volumes in Leipzig (1891-1903). In this monumental work about 50,000 Sanskrit Mss. from all important libraries in India and Europe are mentioned. In the work of A. Holtzmann<sup>2</sup> 47 pages are given with references to Mss. of the Gītā, commentaries and translations. The main articles and translations published up to 1925 are listed by M. Winternitz<sup>3</sup>; those published between 1925 and 1955 are classified by Pusalkar<sup>4</sup>.

In 1930 the Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, printed a *Gītā-Sūcī. A List of Printed and Manuscript Books of Gita-Literature, (Collected) from the Universal Gitaic-Literature*<sup>5</sup>. The list contains about 75 items (not translations) in Sanskrit, 342 items in Hindi, 136 in Bengali, 86 in Marathi, 85 in Gujarati, 63 in Oriya, 27 in Urdu, 21 in Kannada, 10 in Tamil, 9 in

8. United Bible Societies, London, 1972. See also *The Gospel in Many Tongues*, (see above, p. 1, n. 1) in which are given useful linguistic maps and an index to languages, different forms of characters used in printing and different renderings of the term for God (usually verse 3.16 of John's Gospel is quoted).

A useful study about translations of the Bible in Indian languages is found in J. S. M. HOOPER, *Bible Translation in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon*, rev. by W. J. Culshaw, Wesley Press, Mysore, 1963, who also published an Indian Word-List: *Greek NT Terms in Indian Languages*.

The BFBS produced also a *Historical Catalogue of Printed Christian Scriptures in the Languages of the Indian Sub-Continent*, up to 1976.

1. K. W. BOLLE (*The BG*, Berkeley, 1979) remarks: "The consideration that the Gītā scholarship has not attained the age and maturity of New Testament scholarship is a stimulus rather than an impediment" (p. 224).
2. *Das MBh und seine Teile*, vol. 2, 1893, pp. 121-67.
3. *History of Indian Literature* (German ed., 1905-8), Un. of Calcutta (1927), 1963, pp. 374ff.
4. A. D. PUSALKAR, *Studies in the Epics and Purānas*, Bombay, 1955, pp. 163-78.
5. Published by the Gita Library, 30 Banstolla Gali, Calcutta; edited by H. P. Poddar (in Hindi). See also 'Note on Gita Library' in *Kalyana-Kalp.*, 2 (1935), 244-49.



Sindhi, 8 in Telugu, 8 in Nepali, 4 in Persian, 3 in Punjabi, 3 in Mewari-Rajputani, 1 in Malayalam, 1 in Pahari and 1 in Khasi. To these are added 133 items in English and 21 items in non-Indian languages (German, French, Swedish, Danish, Japanese, Latin, Italian). Other entries are catalogued as 'varia', kept in public and private collections.

This list was the first of its kind, but no distinction is made between text-editions, translations, commentaries or studies on the Gītā. There are also duplications as well as an astounding absence of references to general lists and catalogues published earlier.

The Frenchman Paul Hubert, who apparently did not know about the existing *Gītā-Sūci*, collected an impressive list of 132 Gītā-translations<sup>6</sup>. Unfortunately, the author limited his survey to western sources.

In the 20th edition of the English Gītā of the Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, (1971) it is said: "our Gita Library has about 1,300 editions in 32 languages, including 8 foreign languages", but this hardly goes beyond the 1930 list, which gives the same 8 'foreign' languages. The late Sanskrit scholar V. Raghavan<sup>7</sup> refers to the project on the MBh Bibliography by Bruce Long<sup>8</sup> and defines his own plan (on p. 139): "At the Kuppussvamy Research Institute at Madras, we are working on a comprehensive bibliography of the BG, editions of the text, published and unpublished Sanskrit commentaries, translations in all languages, monographs and papers; considerable material for this has already been collected."

In 1891 G. Jacob prepared *A Concordance to the Principal Upanishads and the BG*<sup>9</sup>. Alphabetical indices to *ślokas*, *ślokārdhas* and *pādas* are given in various editions of the Gītā<sup>10</sup>.

A more direct attempt at providing a tool for BG translation was made by L. N. Gokhale, editor of श्रीमद्भगवद् गीता लघु कोश: *A Concise*

6. P. HUBERT, *Histoire de la BG. Ses diverses éditions de 1785 à nos jours*, Adyar, Paris, 1949.

7. V. RAGHAVAN, 'Some Aspects of Recent Research in Sanskrit and Indology. Some Trends and Desiderata', in *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, 40 (1976), 115-41.

On Sanskrit in World Literature, see V. RAGHAVAN, 'Sanskrit round the world', in *Sanskrit Essays on the Value of the Language and Literature*, Madras, 1972, pp. 142-80.

8. B. LONG, *The MBh. A Select Bibliography* (South Asia Occasional Papers), Cornell Un., Ithaca, 1974.

9. Delhi (1891), 1963. See also H. JACOBI, *MBh. Inhalts-angabe, Index und Konkordanz*, Bonn, 1903.

10. See e.g. A. BESANT and B. DAS, *BG* (6th ed., 1973), with a Word-Index on pp. 373-460. Also *Ślokaśāstranipratikavarnānukramasahitā* (Alphabetical Index to Pādas), Theosophical Soc., Adyar, Madras, 1918.

*Dictionary of the BG* (Prajñā Press, Poona, 1944). After the Marathi Introduction follows the Sanskrit text of the Gītā, with division of *sandhi*. A word-for-word analysis, with Marathi and English rendering, is made for a selective list of words; e.g. अकर्तारिम्, अकर्म, अकर्मकृत्, अकर्मणः, अकर्मणि, etc. In his श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता विवेचनात्मक शब्दकोशः *A Critical Word-Index to the BG* (Bombay, 1946, with Foreword by S. M. Katre), R. Divanji distinguishes four sets of word-units. Primary word-units (about 3,865) are obtained after splitting up the *sandhi* and placing the text in prose-order for an easy alphabetical arrangement. E.g. अकर्तारिम् = Accusative singular of the masculine compound noun अकर्तृ (a Non-doer, 4.13; 13.29). Thus, for each word listed the grammatical form is defined, the meanings are given and the references are listed. The second kind of word-units is obtained after dissolving the compound ones from amongst the primary word-units; a short explanation in Sanskrit is each time given. The third kind of word-units is obtained through dissolution of all compound words still left in the second list. E.g. अक्षि in secondary word-unit अक्षिशिरोमुखम् in primary word-unit सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम्. In the fourth list, a few basic units are given, like अधि in tertiary word-unit अध्यात्म in secondary unit अध्यात्मज्ञान in primary unit अध्यात्मज्ञान-नित्यत्वम्. Karmarkar is critical of this word-index: "We fail to see the propriety of giving separate entries for the different case-forms of the same word and repeating the same portion of the explanation against each form... If the work is intended for the benefit of the ignoramus in Sanskrit, we have nothing to say... In short, we very much doubt how far real benefit could be derived from this work by a scholar."<sup>11</sup> Karmarkar would rather be interested in the meanings given by different great commentators to the word-units.

It appears that a contextual approach should be recommended, but in order to pinpoint contrasting meanings and to exclude passages as inauthentic, individual passages should be carefully analysed. Of the

11. R. D. KARMARKAR, review in *Ann. BORI*, 27 (1946), 188.

The reviewer further fears "that the increasing craze for word-index literature is likely to stimulate production of works of doubtful utility involving an amount of unnecessary labour, in the absence of a properly thought out plan for each individual work separately. In the case of a work like the BG the problem is not about the grasping of the meaning of individual words or śloka. There are hardly 30 to 40 verses (out of a total of 700 verses) in the Gītā round which controversy has been raging for at least 1,000 years. The difficulty lies not so much in understanding the individual verses in question, as in coordinating them in a logically evolved philosophical system in the Gītā." (p. 190)



word *māyā* six occurrences in the BG are mentioned; Garbe<sup>12</sup> maintains that only the meaning ' (miraculous) power of God ' fits in the theistic context of the BG and he proposes to reject as interpolation the variants which have the meaning 'unreality or illusion' in a pantheistic sense (e.g. 7.14-15).

In chapters 1-4 of the present study we survey the different factors essentially required for a good translation — the critical text, the acquaintance with the original structure and cultural background of the text, the technique of dynamic translation from one culture to another, and, especially relevant for the Gītā, the commentaries.

12. R. GARBE, *Die BG* (Leipzig, 1905), discussed by R. RANADE, *The BG as a Philosophy of God-realization*, Bombay 1965.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

#### 1.0. Introduction

In the present chapter we deal with the problems arising from the oral and written transmission of the Gītā, from the writing material and from the diversity of scripts in ancient India. As a result of these problems the translator is faced with a critical text which is full of question-marks. K. M. Ganguli is, undoubtedly, too optimistic when he states that “the text of the Gītā has come down to us without, it may be ventured to be stated, any interpolation. The differences of reading are few and far between.”<sup>1</sup> Even A. Holtzmann, who in 1893 mentions about 200 Mss. of the BG, of which 43 in European libraries, is perhaps too confident in the intact preservation of the text when he says: “because the Mss. have been written so carefully, because they are preceded by words of prayer and sometimes surrounded by guirlands [sic] of mantras, because their order of contents is always followed, because they are so often commented upon, and sometimes nicely illustrated . . . ”<sup>2</sup>, their text is well preserved.

It is a pleasant surprise to meet a more critical attitude in A.-W. von Schlegel, who in 1828 tackles the problem of the original text; he is certain “that there is nothing more exceptional to find than correct Mss.”<sup>3</sup>, and he criticizes the English pioneer translators C. Wilkins and Sir W. Jones for having made their translations from one Ms. only, because even the transmission from guru to disciple does not work infallibly. The scriptures are like a well, from which clever priests draw water for any useful purpose of their own. Even the great commentators are not to be believed in blind faith. Though few ancient Mss. are available, the wide range of their provenance, from the South, Kashmir or Nepal, increases the credibility of local traditions. Still, one can never have too many Mss., never will there be enough. And, with humour, von

1. PRATAP CHANDRA ROY, *The MBh*, vol. 4, Joynarayan Press, Calcutta, 1925, p. 50, footnote (in fact the translator is K. M. GANGULI), see below, 5.1.e.
2. A. HOLTZMANN, *Das MBh*, vol. 2, p. 162: ‘Reinhaltung des Textes’. For a copyist’s prayer, see K. T. PANDURANGI, *The Wealth of Sanskrit Mss.*, Bangalore, 1978: “Pray, pardon me for the lapses in my handwriting”.
3. A. DE SCHLEGEL, *Réflexions sur l’Etude des langues asiatiques*, London, 1828, p. 48.



Schlegel remarks that the diversity of copies does not end with the coming of the age of printing. The first printing of the BG, by Bābū Rāma at Calcutta in 1808-9, produced printed manuscripts, not a critical edition: "ce sont des manuscrits multipliés par l'impression!"<sup>4</sup> Von Schlegel criticizes also the Oriental Translation Committee of London, for sanctioning the printing of a translation of the MBh from a Persian version, based moreover on only one manuscript.

A modern critical edition of the BG is now available, first published in 1945 (see below, 1.3.e). Although the classical Gītā is substantially in agreement with it, subsequent translations of the BG-text as such should be better than the hundreds which were published before the critical edition appeared. At the same time translators may profit from the considerations made in this chapter about the textual transmission of the BG. A comparison with the Bible and its textual criticism may also be enlightening.

The science of textual criticism is a relatively new phenomenon in Indian studies, especially among the traditional scholars; yet, as long as the accuracy of the original text is not established, translations can only be provisional. The tension remains between the devout reader and the critical scholar, and it is not clear which value—the historical or the devotional—is the more important. However, both values have their importance, and ignoring either may do injustice to a sacred text.

"There seems to be no doubt in the mind of the scholars that the present text of the *Gita* is a redaction of a much earlier original. The question about the scope of this earlier original must remain unsolved until something like a 'Codex Sinaiticus' for the *Gita* is discovered. One may, however, say that, even when this original is discovered, it will not make much difference to souls like Gandhiji, every moment of whose life is a conscious effort to live the message of the *Gita*. This does not mean that Gandhiji is indifferent to the efforts of scholars in this direction. The smallest questions of historical detail interest him intensely as I can say from personal knowledge. In the quiet of the Yeravda Central Prison I have seen him spending hours discussing and reading the text. But his attitude is that in the last analysis it is the message that abides, and he is sure that no textual discovery is going to affect by a jot the essence or universality of the message."<sup>5</sup>

4. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

5. S. M. DESAI, *The Gospel of Selfless Action*, Ahmedabad, 1956, p. 6. The Codex Sinaiticus of the Bible referred to is the parchment document discovered by Baron von Tischendorf, in 1844, on Mount Sinai. This is a fourth century A.D. manuscript, giving the text of the Greek Bible (now kept in the British Museum, London).

The Hebrew-Greek Bible has been subjected to the most merciless criticism of its history, geography, ethics, philosophy, prophesy, miracles, date and authorship<sup>6</sup>. Developing in several directions, exegetical criticism was elaborated chiefly by the Bible experts, although this discipline has also been applied to classical Greek and Latin literature. No doubt, the importance of the BG can only increase if its text can be rigorously scrutinized and analysed. Once the original text is established or reconstructed through textual criticism, literary criticism tries to establish the literary form in which the text is expressed. This literary form, however, stands at the end of a period of transmission. Hence, historical criticism retraces the pre-literary form as it arose from a definitive life-setting. Finally, redaction criticism replaces the piece of literature in its larger editorial context, so that the diachronic analysis of the different stages of formation is completed by a synchronic view of the whole text as it actually speaks to the reader today.

### 1.1. *The Gītā: oral transmission*

The history of the textual criticism of the Gītā differs considerably from the Biblical tradition, both in the amount of ancient manuscript material at hand and the earnestness of critical research. According to the traditional theory about the redaction of the Gītā, the original author is said to have been the great sage Vyāsa Krishna Dvaipāyana, the author of the Mahābhārata. If there are any obscurities in the text, they should be attributed to the speed at the time of dictation by Vyāsa !

“ While he composed the MBh, God Ganeśa is said to have acted as his amanuensis (i.e. secretary). The condition between the author and the scribe was that the former would not stop dictating the verses till the completion of the book and that the latter would not write without understanding the meaning of the verses. Vyāsa at intervals dictated extremely difficult verses known as Vyāsa-kūtas. During the time Ganeśa took to comprehend the import of these verses, Vyāsa composed new stanzas . . . ”<sup>1</sup>

Even the copyists would have found it extremely difficult, in spite of their human weakness, to tamper with the original text. The story goes that Vyāsa dictated the verse, बलवान् इन्द्रिय + ग्रामो विद्वांसम्-अपि कर्षति (The pull of senses will distract even the scholars. . .). Jaimini, being overconscious of his power of self-control changed but one innocent syllable, as follows: . . . विद्वांसम् न=अपि कर्षति (The pull of senses will *not* distract the scholars. . .).

6. See P. S. MATHAI, *A Christian approach to the BG*, Mysore, 1956.

1. SURESCHANDRA BANERJI, *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971, p. 115; see also below, 2.2.a.



Some time later, Jaimini was sitting in his hut. It was evening, and a big storm broke out. A beautiful woman, soaked in the rain, asked for shelter. There was a fire lit in the hearth. And while she sat there to dry her clothes, Jaimini felt the pull of senses. She tried to stop him, then conceded on condition of being carried round the fire three times. Jaimini lifted her, but she began hitting his head with the words विद्वांसम् नापि कर्षति ! He was amazed to hear the very words he had altered in his guru's teaching. So he stopped. And, indeed, there stood Vyāsa himself, looking at him with a meaningful smile. Jaimini repented, hurried back, and changed the verse to its original form.

The scientific theories about the redaction of the Gītā make the question much more complex and oblige the scholar to consider the consequences of a very long period of oral transmission.

The antiquity of the oral tradition in India connected with Vedic studies is certainly very great, and even when written texts did exist, their transmission through writing seems to have been of secondary importance to oral transmission. Although the art of writing was certainly known to India from the time of the Indus Valley Civilization, and traces of inscriptions are definitely found in documents belonging to the 4th century B.C., the existence of extensive written texts is not much in evidence. It should be conceded that as a result of the orthodox and religious attitude of the Hindus, the religious texts are preserved with great accuracy, as the pupil had to learn the text, word by word, from the mouth of the teacher.

Not until centuries after its composition was the Gītā written down in a definite form, with the result that "we deal with an oral tradition to which critical criticism does not strictly apply"<sup>2</sup>.

"In the case of works transmitted by an oral tradition the corruption in the original text could be introduced by the defective recitation, indistinct pronunciation, failure of memory, a purposeful addition or an intentional omission and the like on the part of the speaker and similarly by the defective hearing, inattention or a faulty memory on the part of the hearer."<sup>3</sup>

Especially if the text is not merely a portion from an epic tale, the reliability of the oral tradition may not be minimized:

"Word for word, with careful avoidance of every error in pronunciation, in accent, in the manner of recitation, the pupil had to

2. G. FEUERSTEIN, *Introduction to the BG*, London, 1974, p. 36.

3. H. D. VELANKAR, 'Sanskrit Mss. Their acquisition, preservation and utilisation', in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, 26 (1966), 8.

repeat them after the teacher and impress them on his memory. There can be no doubt that this kind of oral transmission gives a greater guarantee for the preservation of the original text than the copying and recopying of Mss."<sup>4</sup>

The question became very complex, however, when scholars realized that after the text was written down, a new period of oral transmission may have started.

"After its composition the great epic was for centuries handed down (in different forms and sizes) from bard to bard merely by word of mouth. It is moreover extremely probable that even after the text had been written down, large portions of it, esp. such portions as were popular, continued to be committed to memory, by itinerant *raconteurs* for purposes of recitation. It is further easy to believe that no great care was lavished on the text by these custodians of the tradition to guard it against partial corruption and elaboration or against arbitrary emendation and normalization: to reproduce the received text with any great precision would be neither attempted by these bards nor required of them. It was then inevitable that the protean oral tradition should in one form or another react on the written tradition and *vice versa*. One important and necessary consequence of such antecedents is the impossibility of retracing all extant versions to any fixed and authentic archetype, since some of the modern editions could not but be descendants of fluctuating oral versions reduced to writing in some distant past, independently of each other, at different epochs and in different circumstances. In other words, even in its early phases, the MBh text tradition must have been not uniform and singular, but multiple and polygenous. To complicate matters further there appears to have followed a period in which there was a free comparison of Mss. and extensive mutual borrowings, operations, which in the course of indiscriminate crossing and re-crossing have completely confused the *differentiae* and produced a perfect wilderness of hybrid types."<sup>5</sup>

The implications of the oral transmission of epics in world literature have not yet been studied thoroughly enough to guarantee the exactness of all hypotheses regarding structure, interpolations, formulaic expressions, thematic composition, etc.<sup>6</sup>

4. M. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, Oriental Books Reprint Corp., New Delhi (1926-27), 1977, vol. 2, p. 37.
5. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, 'Critical Studies in the MBh', in *Sukthankar Memorial Ed.*, Bombay, 1944, vol. 1, pp. 1-2.
6. For a good study see A. B. LORD, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Un. Press, 1960. For a case study from the Rājasthānī oral literature, see J. D. SMITH, 'The Singer or the Song? A Reassessment of Lord's Oral Theory', in *Man*, 12 (1977), 141-53. Also E. R. HAYMES, *A Bibliography of Studies relating to Parry's and Lord's Oral Theory*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973.



## 1.2. *The Gītā: written transmission*

### 1.2.a. Writing material in ancient India

Although even today, and certainly in ancient times, Hindus esteem only the *mukhasthā vidyā* (the learning which the guru has imprinted on his memory), there must have been a "widely spread use of writing during the fifth century B.C. and perhaps even earlier"<sup>1</sup>.

Gold-, silver-, copper-plates and rock-inscriptions are the most ancient remnants of alphabetic writing in the Indian past. Due to their perishable nature, no manuscripts older than the 2nd century A.D. are found. The oldest important Kharoshthī Ms. is the fragmentary Ms. on birch-bark<sup>2</sup>, called Dutreuil de Rhins, discovered in the ruins of Cosinga Ushar (Khotan) and generally assigned to the first or second century A.D. A version of the *Dhammapada*, in N.W. Prākṛit is given in it<sup>3</sup>. The well-known Bower Manuscripts are the earliest extant documents, written in Brāhmī script, on birch-bark. This Sanskrit text, dated ca. 450 A.D., was edited by Hoernle in 1893-1912. Cotton cloth is mentioned by Nearchos and is referred to in some metrical *Smritis* and in several inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period (called *pata*, *patikā* and *kārpāsikapata*). Katre<sup>4</sup> mentions a manuscript, written on cloth and discovered by Peterson, dated 1351-52 A.D.

The use of wooden boards is referred to in the *Vinayapitaka* and in the *Jātakas*; written on this material, documents from Burma may be seen in the Oriental Institute, University of Madras.

The most common material used for writing (especially in S. India) —and the best preserved, even after 1,000 years—is the palm-leaf (*tālapatra* or *tādīpatra*). Even after the introduction of paper it continued to be used, up to the present day. Its preparation is described as follows:

"For writing Mss. of important works, the leaves were seasoned in the following way. They were at first dried, then soaked or boiled in water for a considerable time and again dried. Both sides of the leaves were then rubbed with conch- or cowrie-shells or a smooth

1. S. M. KATRE, *Introduction to Indian textual Criticism*, p. 4. The author refers to MACKAY, *Indus Civilization*, p. 6, who quotes Nearchos "according to whom the Hindus wrote letters on well beaten cloth" and Q. Curtius "who mentions the tender inner bark of trees as serving the same purpose".
2. *Bhūrja-patra* or *bhoja patra* (Hindi) is a sheet cut out of the inner bark of the birch tree.
3. For more details about Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and its script, see the Introduction to its edition, J. BROUGH, ed., *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

piece of stone . . . In N. India, the general practice was to write on the leaves with pen and ink, while in the South, the letters were incised on the leaves with a sharp-pointed needle and were made black by besmearing ink on the writing. The leaves for writing a particular book were cut to the same length and a wooden plate . . . was placed at the top and the bottom of the leaves arranged according to order. A hole was made about the middle of the leaves of a manuscript (and sometimes also of Ms. covers) for a string to pass through.”<sup>5</sup>

Velankar gives more details:

“In Mss. written on palm leaves a small blank space in the middle of the page and a similar one on each of its two sides right and left are kept. In palm leaf Mss. holes were bored in them and the Ms. was tied up by strings passing through the holes and through corresponding ones in the wooden boards above and below the Ms.

“The scribes were paid at the rate of 3 or 4 rupees per thousand *granthāgras*. A *grantha* is a technical term which signifies an *anush-tubha śloka* which contains 32 *aksharas*.”<sup>6</sup>

On palaeographic evidence, fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts have been assigned to the 4th century A.D.; they are also referred to by Hiuen-Tsiang (7th cent.).

The use of leather or parchment does not altogether seem to be outside the scope of early Indian scribes, in spite of the ritual impurity attached to it. Katre<sup>7</sup> refers to a document on parchment sent to Caesar (14 A.D.). Paper Mss. were made, it would appear, only from the 10th century A.D. onwards<sup>8</sup>. The earliest preserved Indian paper Ms. seems to be the one of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, dated 1231 A.D.; another paper Ms. is dated 1343 A.D. In Western India, paper superseded the palm-leaf faster and more thoroughly than in Eastern India.

### 1.2.b. The scripts

The script used for the earliest Sanskrit manuscripts was Brāhmī, which was most probably “first applied to some vernacular before the literature in Vedic and Sanskrit was written in it”<sup>9</sup>.

5. D. C. SIRCAR, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 61.

6. H. D. VELANKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

8. At the 5th World Sanskrit Conference, Varanasi, 1981, P. G. Gosavi argued that India knew the art of paper-making as early as 327 B.C.

9. S. K. CHATTERJEE, ‘Sanskrit in Perso-Arabic Script’, in *Indian Linguistics*, 7 (1939), 317. See also T. V. MAHALINGAM, *Early South Indian Palaeography*, Madras (1967), 1974, p. 86 [review in *JAOS*, 88 (1968), 390]; G. BUEHLER, *On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet* (3rd ed.), 1963; D. DIRINGER, *Writing*, London, 1962; N. P. RASTOGI, *Origin of Brāhmī Script*, Varanasi,



Although the original script of the earliest Sanskrit texts was not Devanāgarī, it looks somewhat similar to it. The ancient grammarians of Sanskrit identified 48 sounds worthy of notation. As time went on and scripts developed, each character was made to represent the particular sound unambiguously, with the result that no doubt could arise about the pronunciation of a word.

Belvalkar mentions that of the ca. 125 Mss. of the *Bhīṣma-parvan* (and the BG) found, 64 are in Devanāgarī script, 20 in Bengali characters, 15 in Grantha, 15 in Telugu, 10 in Malayalam, and 1 in Śāradā characters<sup>10</sup>. Considering this variety of characters, we also should keep in mind that certain characters in each script are liable to more than one interpretation by the scribe because of his susceptibility to visual errors.

### 1.2.c. Text-emendation

Dealing with a text transmitted through manuscripts, a translator should be acquainted with the basic principles of the science of textual criticism and with the results of their application.

The textual critic seeks to ascertain, from the divergent copies, which form of the text should be regarded as most nearly conforming to the original. In some cases the evidence will be found to be so evenly divided that it is extremely difficult to decide between two variant readings. In other instances, however, the critic can arrive at a decision based on more or less compelling reasons for preferring one reading and rejecting another.

A translator should consider the decisions and preferences of the critic and study also the variants and rejected readings, as they may throw light on the meaning of a particular word at a particular time.

A few examples may be given:

A. Verse 2.38c of the BG (*yuddhāya yujyasva*: prepare yourself then for battle) is rendered as 'do battle for battle's sake' by K. M. Ganguli, with the remark: "Most texts read *Yudhaya Yujyaswa*. A manuscript belonging to a friend of mine has the correction in red ink, *Yudhaya Yudhaswa*. It accords so well with the spirit of the lesson sought to be

1980; B. D. PITHAVALA, *The Iranian basis of the Devanagari Sanskrit alphabet, the numerical signs and the sacred word Aum and its symbols*, Bombay, 1974; W. H. MAURER, 'On the Name Devanāgarī', in *JAOS*, 96 (1976), 101-4.

10. BG, critical edition, 1945, Editorial Note, p. IX. He adds: "Mss. in Nevārī and Maithilī characters have not so far been traced"; see also below, 1.3.e.

inculcated here that I make no scruple to adopt it."<sup>11</sup> Incidentally, the reading *yudhasva*, adopted by Ganguli, is given in Belvalkar's critical edition ([1945], 1968, p. [10]) as a (non-adopted) variant reading in the oldest manuscript consulted (Ñ 1).

B. For the *kāmāt-krodho-'bhijāyate* (verse 2.62) and *krodhād-bhavati* (verse 2.63) of the critical edition, Pandit Vrindavan suggested the more 'logical' readings *kāmāt-lobho-'bhijāyate* and *lobhād-bhavati* without any support found in manuscripts, "on the ground that anger does not arise from desire but from defeat of desire, while *lobha*, blind craving, is the natural consequence of desire"<sup>12</sup>.

C. Some striking examples of repetition, transportation and omission in the Mss. of the BG are described by Belvalkar:

C.1. First, there is a case of repetition. About 10 Mss. repeat stanzas 53-54 after earlier stanza 23 in Bhīshmaparvan ch. 15. The Mss. are all in Devanāgarī characters and originate from different places over a period of 300 to 400 years. The other Mss. follow stanza 23 with 24. It cannot be that they noticed the repetition and hence made an omission, for, in such a case, they would have omitted the stanzas at their own place (53-54) and not earlier (after 23). Thus the repetition must have been accidental in some old parent Ms. Belvalkar guesses:

"One way to explain the repetition would be, in the first place, to suppose that by the sticking together, in the parent Ms., of two adjacent folios, there was an accidental turning of them over as one folio. This does happen at times even in our printed books, and is much more likely to happen in old Mss., the folios of which were uneven in thickness, and written upon with an ink having some sticky substance mixed with it. As a result of this turning over a double leaf, the scribe will have omitted the reverse side of the preceding folio and the obverse side of the following folio...

"Another equally plausible way to explain the repetition would be to suppose that an entire intervening folio was misplaced, and that, after copying one folio to the end, the scribe went on to copy the folio after the next, nothing in the context having arrested his attention."<sup>13</sup>

Let us now suppose that the scribe detects his mistake after writing two stanzas (namely 53-54 immediately after 23): what is he to do now? He has copied two unwanted stanzas on a page where other stanzas

11. *The Mahābhārata*, vol. V, *Bhīshma-parva*, 3rd improved ed., New Delhi, 1953, p. 56, note 1.

12. A. BESANT and BHAGAVANDAS (BG, 6th ed., 1973, p. 332) who do not accept the emendation.

13. S. K. BELVALKAR, 'Some interesting problems in Mahābhārat Text-transmission, Problem No. 1', in *Ann. BORI*, 25 (1944), 83-84.

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14. *Ibid*  
15. *Ibid*



might have been already written by him. So he cannot afford to waste his labour which had a money value, nor the writing material, which was scarce. Hence he naturally proposes to obliterate these two wrongly copied extra stanzas by painting them over with yellow pigment as was customary, and in the meantime continue the writing in the natural sequence of the original . . . Now, the yellow-pigment erasures were usually made at the end of the morning's or the evening's writing, and it is not too much to suppose that, of the erasures to be made, one may have remained accidentally unnoticed !

C.2. Secondly, with some humour, the critical editor relates a case of transposition, occurring in the very same passage under consideration. Some 9 Kashmiri copyists have jumped from stanza 23 to 39, and transposed vv. 24-38 after 52. "Sarasvatī, the tutelary Goddess of the scribes, seems to have been in a particularly mischievous mood just with reference to this very passage of our *adhyāya*, and so has caused another accident to overtake it."<sup>14</sup>

Belvalkar suggests how it could have happened. It was customary to write the folio-numbers on the reverse side, so that through inattention the scribe can easily begin copying the obverse side of a wrong folio, if there were nothing in the context to arrest the attention. But if, by chance, the lower margin of the loose folio on which the number was written got peeled off or broken, the folio could have lain there with the reverse side turned upwards. In such a case, the copyist would have written down first the reverse side (vv. 39-52) and then the obverse side (vv. 24-38), since each of the two groups of stanzas involved in the transposition is just sufficient to cover any one side of the folio.

C.3. And now, to give us a complete picture of scribal errors in the same passage, we meet a third 'accident', this time of omission. One Bengali Ms. (which often sides with the Kashmiri Mss.) copied the reverse side first (like the other nine Mss.) and failed inadvertently to copy the obverse side altogether ! Belvalkar draws some conclusions: the 20 Mss. that exhibit the three accidents of either repetition (10), transposition (9) or omission (1) presuppose a parent Ms. with a loosened folio with missing folio-numbers, which got misplaced. "From this parent Ms. have descended one class of Mss. in which the misplacement was detected after two subsequent stanzas had been copied; another class in which the folio was placed with the wrong side up; and a third . . . which omitted the copying of the two sides altogether."<sup>15</sup>

14. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Textual criticism of this kind may support the theory of at least two main recensions of the MBh text-transmission, viz. the northern and the southern, since the southern Mss. are entirely free of the triple scribal error described above.

D. Another interesting example is found in BG 6.7, which runs as follows in Sanskrit:

जित×आत्मनः प्रशान्तस्य परम्+आत्मा समाहितः।

शीत×उष्ण+सुख+दुःखेषु तथा मान×अप+मानयोः॥

(The self-disciplined and serene man's Supreme Self is constant in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, as also in honour and dishonour).

The variant अवमानयोः instead of अपमानयोः (which is underlined with an undulating line in the critical edition, indicating that the reading adopted by the editor is 'less than certain') does not affect the meaning of the verse. But the variant पर+आत्मसु समा मतिः found in Kashmiri Mss. (one dating 1489 A.D.—the oldest Ms. used in the critical edition is but 13 years older) and in Kashmiri commentators is quite relevant. Translated freely as 'We must have in mind the treatment of others like our own selves', it comes very close to the 'Golden Verse' of the Sermon on the Mount, 'Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them' (Matthew 7.12). It would bring in a welcome note of concern for others, the *parātmans*, in a series of *ātman*s all concerned with self! Of course, it would also replace a possible reference to the Self in the vertical dimension, namely *Paramātmān*<sup>16</sup>.

The fact that this variant reading is limited to Kashmir casts serious suspicion on its authenticity. Yet, Jayatīrtha has accused the non-Kashmirian Bhāskara (8th-9th century, probably from Karnataka) of having introduced the correction परात्मसु समा मतिः, thus providing besides cold-heat, etc., a seventh situation in which the *jīvātman* should show his self-control. Though rejecting Bhāskara's emendation (whose commentary on the BG, unfortunately, breaks off at this point) and keeping the current 'Vulgate' text of Śāṅkarācārya, S. K. Belvalkar remarks: "It is unquestioned that Bhāskara's emendation highly improves the sense."<sup>17</sup>

E. Another interesting case-study is BG 2.11, where the Lord's great teaching starts<sup>18</sup>.

16. See S. HEMRAJ, 'A Problem in Gita Translation', in *Sevartam*, 4 (1980), 100-114.

17. S. K. BELVALKAR, ed., *The BG*, Poona, 1968 (2nd ed.), p. XX. Instead of reading *paramātmā* as a compound word, meaning the Supreme Self, Belvalkar notes: "In the current text *param* is to be separated from *ātmā* and understood as qualifying *samāhit*."

18. See O. BÖHTLINGK, 'BG 2.11', in *ZDMG*, 56 (1902), 209, discussing J. S. Speyer, 'Ein alter Fehler in der Ueberlieferung der BG 2.11'.



It has been argued that the rest of the Gītā is only an expansion of some primordial word of encouragement which followed upon the benign smile of the Lord (2:10). In fact, it is here that Śāṅkarācārya started his great commentary. What concerns us here is only a minor variant. The text प्रज्ञा+वादांश्च भाषसे attributes “words of wisdom” to the grief-stricken Arjuna. The Kashmiri recension finds this unfitting and corrects प्रज्ञावन्-न = अभिभाषसे (you do *not* speak as a wise man)! Sensing the difficulty about the received text, R. C. Zaehner (*The BG*, 1969) translates “words that (in part) are wise”, making use of Edgerton’s reference to MBh 2 : 61.38: “talking as (pretending to be) wise”.

The Kashmiri recension contains even an additional verse, stating that whatever be the wise words of Arjuna, at least his behaviour is full of *asanjñā*, or devoid of wit. Śāṅkara, keeping to the original text, comments: “you exhibit inconsistency in yourself—foolishness and wisdom!”. Rāmānuja also feels that Arjuna’s words imply some knowledge about *ātman* and body, but that this knowledge is contradicted by his behaviour. Śrīdhara brings out the same contradiction between words and behaviour “पण्डितानाम् वादान्...केवलम् भाषसे, न तु पण्डितो-(अ) सि”!

Madhvācārya’s interpretation is more subtle, as he understands *prajñā-vāda*, “arguments contrary to the views of the wise”. But none of the commentators follows the alternative reading.

As manuscripts were a person’s private property, the texts could be enlarged with personal comments by the owner. Due to this private ownership it could also happen that a couple of leaves containing a variant version were inserted in the loose-leaf book. When such a manuscript served as the source-text, it is not surprising that the scribe often made no distinction between the basic text and the notes in the margin<sup>19</sup>.

From these few instances it is clear that a translator of the BG should not only consider the Sanskrit text, but equally well the variants mentioned in the footnotes of a critical edition.

### 1.3. Editions of the Gītā

#### 1.3.a. Editions within the Mahābhārata

The 700 double-verses of the BG are found in the 200,000-line epic, called Mahābhārata. If all these lines are original, the epic text would

19. See J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, *The Mahābhārata*, vol. 1, 1973, p. xxviii.

be eight times as big as the Greek Iliad and Odyssey put together. Sukthankar quotes Oldenberg's vivid description of this epic chaos:

“ Besides the main story there were veritable forests of small stories and numberless and endless instructions about theology, philosophy, natural science, law, politics, practical and theoretical knowledge of life. A poem full of deeply significant dreamings and surmisings, delicate poetry and schoolmastery platitudes full of sparkling play of colour, of oppressive and mutually jostling masses of images, of showers of arrows of endless battles, clash after clash of deep-despising heroes, of over-virtuous ideal men, of ravishing beautiful women, of terrible-tempered ascetics, of adventurous fabulous beings, of fantastic miracles—full of empty flood of words and wide, free peeps into the order of the course of the world.”<sup>1</sup>

The early editors of the MBh found it difficult to cope with such a giant piece of literature, which would grow seven more heads as soon as one head was knocked off, as being spurious.

1. The Editio Princeps of the MBh is the *Calcutta-edition*, which includes the inauthentic Harivamśa as 19th supplementary book after the 18 parvas. It appeared as “ *The Muhābhārut, an epic poem, written by the celebrated Veda Vyāsa Rishi, edited and carefully collated with the best Mss. in the library of the Sanscrita College of Calcutta, by Nimachand Siromani and Nanda Gopāla Pandits. Commenced under the Committee of Public Instruction, and, upon the suspension of its oriental publications, completed under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Baptist Mission Press, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1834-39.*”

Another edition was prepared by P. C. Roy, Calcutta, 1882-86, and P. T. Bhattācārya (in Bengali script), Calcutta, 1904.

2. In 1855-60 appeared in Madras a southern recension of the MBh in Telugu character, including Harivamśa and extracts of Nīlakantha's commentary (4 vols.). This *Madras-edition* was edited by P. H. Śāstrī. Another edition in Telugu script was prepared by N. V. S. Śāstrī, Madras, 1871-72.

3. The *Bombay-edition* by Ātmarāma Khādilkar at the Ganpat Krishnaji Press, 1862-65 (1878), left out the Harivamśa supplement and added the full commentary of Nīlakantha Govinda (acc. to the northern recension, containing 200 ślokaś more than the Calcutta-edition). The

1. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *On the meaning of the MBh*, Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1957, p. 125.



whole was printed in 6 volumes of large 'Pothi' print. Another MBh with Nilakanthī was edited by Krishna Śāstrī Gurjar, Jagadīśvara Press, Bombay, 1888-90.

4. In 1896-98, an edition of the MBh appeared in Thanjavur. At the same time R. Dīkshita and N. Krishnācārya prepared a MBh in Grantha character, Vedavyāsa Press, Sarbhōjirājapuram. The *Kumbakonam-edition* of 1906-14 added more southern recensions, in 23 vols., edited by T. R. Krishnācārya and T. R. Vyāsācārya, for the Madhva Vilas Bk. Depot, Kumbakonam, but in fact printed at the Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. This voluminous edition is based on a collation of 19 texts. In the Preface S. Subba Rao refers to a Ms. on palm-leaf, written in Telugu script at Ramnad, ca. 1713 A.D.:

"The copy obtained from Ramnad happens to be the oldest of the lot, written nearly 200 years ago. One might wish that copies of such a work were as old as 2,000 years even. Perhaps the materials used, in India at least, do not seem to admit the possibility of preserving a copy over such a long period."<sup>2</sup>

5. The next important edition is the one-volume edition of the entire MBh-text with Nilakantha's commentary, the so-called '*Vulgate-edition*', edited by Ramacandra S. Kinjavadekar at the Citraśālā Press, Poona, 1929-36. Pandita Rāmanārāyanadatta Śāstrī Pāndeya produced a Hindī version of the Śrīmanmaharshi Vedavyāsa-pranīta MBh, which was printed with the Sanskrit text of the Nilakanthī (86,600 *ślokas*) to which verses were interspersed from the southern tradition (6,584 additional *ślokas*), so that by adding up the introductory *uvāca* (7,033 times) more or less the traditional one lākh verses (*vyāsakṛita*) were reached by *tour de force*. The text was published at the Gita-Press, Gorakhpur.

6. One more southern recension was edited by P. Subrahmanya Śāstrī in 18 vols., Vavila Press, Madras (1927-33; 1936). (Bhishmaparvan = vol. VIII, 1934). Meanwhile the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, led by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar had started the truly '*critical edition*' from 1933 to 1966, thanks to the munificence of Balasaheb Pant, the Raja of Aundh.

2. S. SUBBA RAO, *Srīman MBh*. A Preface (Sanskrit and English), Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1914, p. 4.

## 1.3.b. Manuscripts of the Gitā

Among the "more than a million Mss. in Indian languages" (K. L. Janert)<sup>3</sup> one could easily count 5,000 Sanskrit Mss. of the BG-text; the Sarasvati Bhavan Library of Benares alone has a list of about 314 BG Mss.

The handwritten text of the BG is preserved in all shapes and sizes. The British Museum has a BG-Ms. (Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. 1902, No. 85) of 41 folios with minute Nāgarī writing on leaves of hexagonal shape, each side measuring about half an inch. A. Weber describes a BG-Ms. in Berlin in very small handwriting. The whole BG is written on a long and narrow scroll, enframed in gold, and rolled up in a tiny little pipe of reddish colour<sup>4</sup>. The Library of St Petersburg, Russia, possesses an even smaller Ms., kept in a bronze container, which does not exceed the size of an ordinary needle-holder. The letters have to be deciphered with a magnifying glass<sup>5</sup>. Another curiosity is the voluminous BG-Ms. of

3. K. L. JANERT, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Mss.*, part I (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Suppl. 1), Wiesbaden, 1965. Reference is made to 334 geographical places where, in libraries and collections, manuscripts (and catalogues) of Indian literature may be found. Janert declares that in his estimation "more than a million Mss. in Indian languages exist in libraries, public and private, throughout the world and that more than 600,000 of these have been listed or described with varying degrees of satisfaction since the inception of Indian studies in the West about a century and a half ago... He has recorded catalogues dealing with writings in nearly all of the scripts and languages of India, save only Urdu." — From J. D. PEARSON, *Oriental Mss. in Europe and N. America. A Survey* (Bibl. Asiatica, 7, Interdocumentation Co., Switzerland, 1971).

Also K. T. PANDURANGI, *The Wealth of Sanskrit Manuscripts in India and abroad*, Prabha Printers, Bangalore, 1978, p. 4. The author states that there should be about 500,000 Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali manuscripts deposited in some 215 institutes in India; an additional 100,000 manuscripts may be found outside India.

Also 'Manuscripts of India, Ceylon and S.E.-Asia', in H. O. L. VERVIET, *The Book through five thousand years*, London, 1972, pp. 140-62.

4. "Eine lange schmale Rolle, mit Miniatureschrift, die in einem Rahmen von goldenen Strichen eingefasst ist. Ohne Datum. Feines, festes Papier. Befindet sich in einem kleinen Etui von rothern Maroquin, worauf BG in goldener devanāgarī-Schrift gedruckt ist." [A. WEBER, *Sanskrit Mss.* (Königl. Bibl.), Berlin, vol. I, Ms. No. 416, p. 109].
5. "Cet exemplaire... est enveloppé en étoffe de soie, et conservé dans un étuit de bronze doré (?) qui ne dépasse pas la grandeur d'un petit garde-aiguille ordinaire... Les caractères devanāgarī de notre exemplaire sont écrits soigneusement, mais en même temps si petits qu'il est presque impossible de les lire sans le secours de moyens optiques... fourmillantes de fautes... presque inévitables dans une pareille exécution calligraphique... trahissant souvent l'ignorance complète du sanscrit... orné de jolies vignettes (en miniature)..." [*Cat. des Mss. Orientaux*, (Bibl. Impériale de St Pétersbourg), 1852, Ms. No. DCCCLXXIII, p. 629].



3,304 folios at the Raghunātha Temple of His Highness the Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir<sup>6</sup>. It was executed in 1860 under Mahārājā Ranavīra Simha. The text is written in *Kāśmīrī lipi* and each *śloka* carries a string of eighteen Sanskrit commentaries, ending with the Mahārājā's *Ranavīra-samudbodhinī* commentary and a Hindī *bhāṣānuvāda*.

The Gītā text is often accompanied by translations and commentaries, or sometimes only selected verses have been copied with special devotion. Besides the Mss. of the complete BG there are about 212 Mss. with BG *tīkā*s and abstracts in the Library of the Sanskrit University, Benares (although it is not certain that all Mss. mentioned in the Catalogues are still available)<sup>7</sup>.

Another reservoir of BG-Mss. is the Sarasvati Mahal Library of Tanjore. It has 116 BG-Mss. in its collection<sup>8</sup>, and the oldest dated Ms. available there is (only) of 1653 A.D. It is extremely rare to find a Gītā-Ms. dated before the 15th century. The oldest dated Ms. used by S. K. Belvalkar for the critical edition of the BG is a Nepali Ms. of 1476 A.D. (from the University Library, Cambridge, additional Ms. No. 1597). The oldest Mss. seem to relish the company of Śāṅkarācārya's commentary. There is a Devanāgarī Ms. of the BG with *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya*, dated *Vikrama Samvat* 1468 or 1411 A.D.<sup>9</sup>.

### 1.3.c. Printed editions of the Gītā

The story of printed BG editions starts in 1808-9, when, at the suggestion of Colebrooke, the Bābūrāma Press printed the Editio Princeps of the BG (oblong 9¼" × 5¾", lithographed, 60 folios) at Khidarpoor-Calcutta, *Śaka Samvat* 1730. A.-W. von Schlegel counted 60 wrong readings in this edition, which he could easily rectify without having recourse to conjectural emendations. Only the last verse (18.78), he felt, was to be rejected as spurious.

Von Schlegel himself published the first critical edition of the BG, together with a Latin translation, in 1823: "the first book ever printed on the continent of Europe in the Sanscrit language and in the original

6. Cat. No. 2711-28.

7. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. 4, section: Gītāgranthasangraha (The Govt. Sanskrit College, Sarasvati Bhavan Library), Vārāṇasī.

8. P. P. S. SASTRI, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Tanjore (Sri Vani Vilas Press), Srirangam, 1932, vol. 15, No. 8774-8859.

9. See also Ms. No. 152 in the Cat. of Sanskrit Mss., University of Leipzig, copied in 1516 A.D., and Ms. No. 94 in the Sanskrit Cat. of the British Museum, dated 1551 A.D.

Devanāgarī character”<sup>10</sup>. The pioneer German critic collated the Editio Princeps with 4 Mss. in the Royal Library of Paris and one “codex micrographicus” in small script with 5 illustrations (preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin). He weighed every word and syllable very carefully. Obvious corrections he did not hesitate to make to the text itself, but the less certain ones he reserved for the footnotes with the intention of marking the unsolvable passages as suspect<sup>11</sup>.

C. Larssen, a disciple of A.-W. von Schlegel and author of a four-volume “Indische Altertumskunde” (Bonn, 1843), revised his master’s edition in 1846. J. Garrett (see below, 1.3.d.9; 4.28) made use of it for his polyglot BG edition in parallel columns of Sanskrit (in Kannada characters), English (C. Wilkins’ version) and Kannada (his own), Bangalore, 1849 (Foreword of 1846). The supplement gives the Sanskrit Devanāgarī text and Latin translation of von Schlegel. He adds, however, a long list of “various readings” (pp. 93-96), collected from Malayalam Mss., some commentaries and the Calcutta-edition of the MBh. Belvalkar found it worth while to select 43 of these variants for his critical edition (in the supplementary notes). But J. Cockburn Thomson got rather bored after having noted some 10 different readings in his BG of 1855, where he would depart from both von Schlegel and Larssen:

“I have now done enough to weary the reader with pedantic niceties, which can interest but a few, and those rather of a German than an English turn of mind. It is, however, the duty of an editor to state and defend the corrections which he makes in the work of his predecessors.”<sup>12</sup>

During the 20th century various editions appeared which questioned the traditional number of 1,400 lines or 700 ślokas in the *saptaśatī* BG. The Śuddha Dharma Mandalam, Mylapore-Madras, 1917, presented a BG with 745 ślokas<sup>13</sup>. Like R. Garbe before him, F. O. Schrader also

10. A.-W. VON SCHLEGEL, “Letter to the Honorable Court of Directors of the Honorable East-India Company” (1829), in *Réflexions...*, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

11. A.-W. VON SCHLEGEL, *Réflexions...*, *op. cit.*, p. 140: “J’aimerais mieux passer pour un épilucheur de syllabes que de gâter par ma négligence des textes importants, de précieux monuments de l’antiquité”.

12. J. C. THOMSON, *BG or The Sacred Lay* (Skt. critical text), The India Office, London, 1855.

13. Pandit K. T. Srinivasachariar (in his Preface to the *BG with Gītārtha Sangraha* of Maharshi Gobhila, Madras, 1917) says: “Such is the Geeta which the Suddhas hold up and revere and it consists of 26 chapters; it is made up of as many geetas (24) as there are letters in the Gāyatri, each letter of which signifies one Tatva or element... ‘While Geeta, Gangā, Gāyatri and Govinda — the four names that begin with a ga — reign in our hearts, there is no rebirth in store for us’...



began to speak of interpolations in the BG, and even tried to prove it by referring to the Kashmir Recension of the BG (Stuttgart, 1930). S. N. Tadpatrikar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, giving tribute to Prof. E. O. Schrader of Kiel University, edited a BG with numerous variants from old Kashmiri Mss., Poona, 1934.

All this is enough to make Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri react vehemently, since he believes in the literal origin of the full BG text on the historic battlefield. He rejects the *Suddha Dharma Gītā* and produces his own SBG, revised in the light of a rare and ancient Ms. (claimed to be of 1178 A.D.) with various readings incorporated therein; along with this is given the glossary, *Siddhidātrī*, and the *Candraghantā* Commentary of chapters 1-3 (by Ācārya Caranātīrtha Mahārāja), its English rendering explaining the variants<sup>14</sup>.

In his introduction (1937) he assumes the textual incompleteness of the actual Gītā-editions:

“On account of the lapse of so long a period as 5,000 years, and the vicissitudes and misfortunes which the Aryan scriptures had to face during it and also on account of the wear that crept in during transmission and for various other reasons, the form of the Gita of 745 stanzas has not been preserved intact. Hundreds of readings have been altered and variant readings crept in. As a result of this, the original pure form of the Gita which Shri Krishna declared and Veda Vyasa composed has not been perfectly preserved to us... We venture to surmise that this Gita of 745 stanzas as well as commentaries based on it must be lying undiscovered in some of the libraries of Sanskrit Mss.”<sup>15</sup>

In the very first verse he proposes already a ‘better reading’, viz. धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे सर्वक्षत्र समागमे : “in the holy field of Kurukshetra where all the Kshatriyas have gathered together”. Āchārya Shri Caranātīrtha Mahārāja published again a SBG, “Bhojapatrī with complete 745 verses”, with original Sanskrit and Gujarati translation (Shri Bhuvan-

This Geeta of the Suddha can no longer be rejected or disapproved by the champions of authenticity.” (pp. 2 and 11)

For a criticism of this theory, see Sri BHAGAVADGITADAS, *Nūtana-gītā-vaicitrya-vilāsa*, Madras, 1917.

C. Kunhan Raja also challenges the claim of the Suddha Dharma Mandala that their tradition of 745 *ślohas* would go back to the authority of a Hamsa Yogin of the 5th c. A.D. (Introd. to ŚRĪ-UPANISAD BRAHMAYOGIN, BG *arthaprakāśikā*, ed. by Pandits of the Adyar Library, 1941).

14. R. J. K. SHASTRI, SBG, published by the Rasashālā Aushadhāshram, Gondal-Kathiawar, 1937.

15. *Ibidem*, p. 6. In fact, this edition has only 719 *ślohas* for the Gītā text proper.

eshwari Pith, Gondal-Saurashtra, 1941<sup>16</sup>. But Belvalkar rejects it as not scientific, as a 'fake' Ms., concocted from different texts.

### 1.3.d. Main editions of the Gītā, chronologically arranged

The following list of some printed editions of the Sanskrit original of the BG clearly shows the slow development towards an up-to-date critical edition; some of these editions are included in the edition of the Mahābhārata:

1. *SBG*, (Editio Princeps in Devanāgarī), ed. by 'The Brāhman Bābū Rāma', under Coolebrooke's auspices, (Baburama Press), Khidarpoor-Calcutta, 1808-9.
2. *BG*, (selections), by Frank Othmar, 'Bhagavadgitae loca selecta cum versione' in *Chrestomathia Sanscrita*, München, 1821, vol. 2, part 3, 83-115.
3. *BG*, *id est Thespiesion Melos sive Almi Crishnae et Arjunae Colloquium de Rebus Divinis, Bharateae Episodium*, (critical edition, with critical notes and Latin rendering) by A.-W. von Schlegel, Bonn, 1823.
4. an., *BG* (with comm. of Śrīdhara), Calcutta, 1832.
5. *BG* in *MBh*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1836, pp. 360-85. (See 1.3.a.1). The text starts at ch. 25 of the Bhīshmaparvan, verses 830-1530.
6. *Gītārthabodhinī*, (*BG* with 5 translations), Bombay, 1842; ref. given in A. Holtzmann, *Das MBh*, vol. 2, p. 125.
7. *BG*, *id est Thespiesion Melos* (see above, No. 3), (von Schlegel's critical edition, revised and amplified by Christian Larssen), Bonn, 1846; "a few copies printed for private use", (American Mission Press), Bombay, 1847.
8. *BG*, ed. by Shrikrishnadās Kshemrāj, Bombay, 1847.
9. *The BG or Dialogues of Krishna and Arjoon in Eighteen Lectures*, (polyglot) ed. by J. Garrett; "Sanskrit [in Kannada script]; Canarese and English in parallel columns. The Canarese newly translated from the Sanskrit, and the English from the translation by Sir Charles Wilkins, with his Preface and Notes, etc., and the Introduction by the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esq., with an Appendix containing Schlegel's [Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī and] Latin translation of the Geeta and Notes from the German of Baron von Humboldt, etc."; Wesleyan Mission Press, Bangalore, 1849; (editor's preface of 1846).  
This edition contains a list of "various readings", collected from Malayalam Mss., commentaries and the Calcutta edition of the *MBh*, pp. 93-96.
10. *BG or The Sacred Lay*, (new edition of the Sanskrit text), "carefully and correctly printed", by J. Cockburn Thomson, (St. Austin, Hertford, and The India Office), London, 1855.
11. *BG* in *MBh*, Madras, 1860 (Telugu script). (See 1.3.a.2).
12. *BG* in *MBh*, vol. 3, Bombay, 1863. (See 1.3.a.3).
13. *BG*, (with Śāṅkarabhāṣya, in Grantha script), Madras, 1865.

16. *SBG bhojapatrī sampūrṇa 745 śloka yukta* (Introd. in English by the editor Shri Charanātīrtha), (Bhuvaneśvarī Pīṭha), Gondal-Saurashtra, 1941, 1970.



14. BG in *MBh*, Madras, 1872 (Telugu script). (See 1.3.a.2).
15. BG in *MBh*, Calcutta, 1886. (See 1.3.a.1).
16. BG in *MBh*, Bombay, 1888. (See 1.3.a.3).
17. *SBG*, (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1888.
18. BG in *MBh*, Thanjavur, 1896. (See 1.3.a.4).
19. BG in *MBh*, Sarbhojirājapuram, ca. 1897 (in Grantha char.). (See 1.3.a.4).
20. BG in *MBh*, Calcutta, 1904 (in Bengali char.). (See 1.3.a.1).
21. BG in *MBh*, Bombay, ca. 1908. (See 1.3.a.4).

During the 20th century numerous BG-editions have been published, e.g. by the Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay; Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam; Panini Office, Allahabad; Gita-Press, Gorakhpur; Citrasālā Press, Poona; etc. Translators of the BG, who also reproduced the original text, add sometimes text-critical notes: A. Besant and Bhagavan Das; W. Douglas Hill; Franklin Edgerton; Shakuntala Rao Sastri; R. Zaehner; etc.

We further give a selective list of specific editions:

22. BG, (745 *śloka*s, divided into 26 chapters, edited and prefaced by Pandit K. T. Srinivasachariar), (The Suddha Dharma Mandalam), Mylapore-Madras, 1917; 1937.
23. BG, (transcribed into Roman script by St Fr Michalski-Iwinski, with introduction), (Publ. de la Société Asiatique de Varsovie, I), Paris, 1922.
24. BG, (text only, first specimen of many reprints), Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, 1928.
25. BG in *MBh*, Poona, ca. 1930. (See 1.3.a.5).
26. BG in *MBh*, Gorakhpur, ca. 1930 (with Hindi tr.). (See 1.3.a.5).
27. BG in *MBh*, (collated with the southern tradition by P. P. Subrahmanya Śāstri), 18 vols., (Vavila Press), Madras, ca. 1930.
28. Variant readings of the Kashmirian Mss., as compared with the Vulgate, with extracts from the commentaries of Rāmakantha and Abhinavagupta are given in F. Otto SCHRADER, *The Kashmir Recension of the BG*, (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachenwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, 3; W. Kohlhammer), Stuttgart, 1930.
29. *SBG*, edited with numerous variants from old Kāśmīrī Mss., an exhaustive introduction and critical notes by Śrīnivāsa Nārāyana Tadpatrikar, (BORI), Poona, 1934.
30. *Ādi-BG*, of 84 verses; an amalgamation of two Gītās, one of them discovered on the Bali island near Java, inscribed on palm leaves, while the other at Farrukhabad, United Prov., carved on a bronze plate; edited by "Prakāśa", with text, *padaccheda*, and *padārtha* in Hindi and English, Faizabad, 1936.
31. *SBG*, revised in the light of a rare and ancient Ms. (A.D. 1178?) with various readings incorporated herein and edited with its gloss "Siddhi Dātrī" and its English rendering explaining the variants, by Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, (The Rasashala Aushadhashram), Gondal-Kathiawar, 1937.
32. BG, revised text of chs. 1-3 with Candraghantā commentary by Acharya Shri Charanatirth Maharaj, (Shri Bhuvaneshwari Pith), Gondal-Kathiawar, 1937.

33. *SBG*, with com. Sarvatobhadra of Rājānaka Rāmakavi on Kashmirian readings of the BG, edited by S. N. Tadpatrikar, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 112), Poona, 1939.
34. *BG*, (text transliterated into Roman script), (Adrien-Maisonneuve), Paris, and (Delachaux-Nestlé), Neuchâtel, 1941.
35. *SBG*, (according to the Kashmirian recension, with Rāmakantha's commentary and variant readings from Bhāskara), edited by T. R. Chintamani, (Madras, University Sanskrit Series, 14), Madras, 1941.
36. *BG*, ("Authorized Version", according to Śāṅkarabhāṣya), edited with *pāda*-index by S. K. Belvalkar, (BORI), Poona, 1941.
37. *BG*, (The "Bhojapatri" Shri BG with 745 verses, edited by Acharya Shri Charanatirth Maharaja), (Shri Bhuvaneshwari Pith), Gondal-Kathiawar, 1941.

### 1.3.e. The Belvalkar critical edition of the Gītā

It is in the critical edition of the MBh that we find also a critical text of the BG, since the latter occurs in the 6th book of the MBh, or Bhishmaparvan<sup>17</sup>. The first fascicule of the Bhishmaparvan (7th vol. of the complete edition) appeared in 1943-45, the 2nd fascicule in 1947. The Bhishmaparvan contains 117 chapters. The text of the BG is given in chs. 23 to 40 (pp. 114-88) of this critical edition (whereas it appears in chs. 25 to 42 of the "Vulgate" editions). After Dr V. S. Sukthankar died in 1943, Dr S. K. Belvalkar became the chief editor. Already in 1935 he agreed to edit a *parvan* or book of the MBh, because of his love for the BG:

"My choice fell naturally upon the Bhishmaparvan, embodying as it does the world famous BG, to which I was attracted since my own college days and of which I have been a close student ever since."<sup>18</sup>

17. See *The MBh*, *MBh Samhitā*, for the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukthankar (1925-43), S. K. Belvalkar (1943-61) and P. L. Vaidya (after 1961), with the cooperation of scholars . . . ; in the smaller edition (4 vols.), BORI, Poona, 1972, the BG appears in vol. 2, chs. 23-40, pp. 1158-85.

*The BG (SBG samsodhya, vividhapāthāntarairupodghātena parīśiṣṭādibhiṣca sanyojya)*; being a Reprint of the Relevant Parts of Bhishmaparvan from B.O.R. Institute's Edition of the MBh, for the first time critically edited by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1945; this reprint contains pp. 114-88 of Fasc. 15 (Bhishmaparvan, part 1) issued in Sept. 1945, and advance issue of parts of the Introduction, Appendices, etc., from Fasc. 16, to be issued in 1946; sec. repr. 1968.

*The Bhishmaparvan*, 6th Book of the MBh, in the 7th vol. of the cr. ed. by V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1947.

*SBG mūlam pādabhedasahitam*, the BORI critical text with only the principal variants of the different northern and southern recensions, without indicating the names of the Mss., ed. with English translation and *pāda*-index by S. K. Belvalkar, BHU, Benares, 1959.

18. S. K. BELVALKAR, *The Bhishmaparvan* (BORI), Poona, 1947, p. CXXIX.



The zealous editor found out soon that the text of the Bhīshmaparvan was better attested than other sections of the MBh. The reason why this text was better preserved was not difficult to find:

“It is evident that the Bhīshma has suffered least at the hands of provincial interpolations. The proximity of the BG, which was read and adapted as a philosophical textbook throughout India, probably acted as a sort of wholesome check upon the latter-day Vyāsais.”<sup>19</sup>

Though there have also been deliberate interpolations in a few definite cases, the BG text contains mostly some chance variants:

“It is easy to see that most of these variations are ... due to quite normal causes such as the accidental writing of the same letter or letters twice, the accidental omission of intervening group of letters (or words) owing to the wandering of scribe's eye from a similar looking earlier group of letters (or words) to another similar looking later group, the conscious attempt to smooth over an original metrical or grammatical irregularity, the substitution — metre permitting — of a marginal or an interlinear explanatory word for the original word in the text, and in the case of a popular text like the BG (which many scribes might have known by heart), the copying from memory rather than from the original before the eye, the last case being facilitated by the occurrence of the remembered stanza or part of it only a little while ago.”<sup>20</sup>

In 1941 Belvalkar published the BG, according to the Śāṅkara Commentary, and in 1959 he brought out his critical English translation. Even the Belvalkar critical edition does not remain unchallenged: S. R. Shastri gives in the critical Introduction to her translation (1959), a collation of different Mss. and texts (pp. 73-78), with 60 variants given in 3 columns, from e.g. a well-written Ms. with 17 miniatures of ca. 1812 and another small size Ms. (5×3 inches) of ca. 1754.

In fact, Belvalkar expanded the basis for BG textual criticism by adding some more Mss. for collation to those used for the other chapters of the Bhīshmaparvan. It is worth while going into some details.

1. Manuscripts: Belvalkar knew about 125 Mss. of the Bhīshmaparvan-text only (including the BG); 42 other Mss. give the text with Sanskrit commentary (mostly that of Nīlakantha) and still 30 other Mss. provide only a commentary. Hence, about 167 Mss. of the text were available; yet only 60 of them were collated for the critical edition and only 34 Mss. were actually selected for reference in the critical apparatus (and 4

19. *Ibid.*, p. CXXVI.

20. S. K. BELVALKAR, “The so-called Kashmir Recension of the BG”, in *A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies*, Bombay, 1939, p. 17.

others were used occasionally). Specially for the BG, 7 more Mss. were integrated within the apparatus. That means that only 41 complete Mss. of the text were being used.

The oldest manuscript used is a Nepali paper Ms. (18" × 5½") of 56 folios, with 7 lines a page and about 32 letters a line. Chapters and verses are numbered. It is dated "Nepalese Samvat 596" (ca. 1476 A.D.), but it may be a copy of an older Ms. Marginal emendations are probably by a different hand. The Ms. gives 35 original variants, but nearly 20 are mere blunders by the copyist.

The 41 Mss. mentioned in the textual apparatus of the BG can be classified in two scribal families: a. the northern recension, with 18 Mss. in Devanāgarī, 6 in Śāradā, 5 in Bengali, 1 in Nepali script; b. the southern recension with 5 Mss. in Malayalam, 4 in Grantha, 2 in Telugu script. For recensions, see further below, 1.3.f.

2. Indirect witnesses: Belvalkar made use of about 29 'testimonia' or quotations found in BG commentaries or translations of the text. Among the commentaries (see further below, chapter 3) are mentioned: Śrīdhara; Ānandavardhana (only from BG 2.6d); Bhāskara (up to 7.16); Caturbhujamiśra (on chs. 1-2 only); Abhinavagupta (without ch. 1); Rāmakantha (without ch. 1); Vallabha (from 1.12 — with subcommentary of Purushottama); Madhva (without ch. 1 — with subcommentary of Jayatīrtha); Nīlakantha; Rāmānuja (*Gītā Bhāṣya* — with subcommentary of Venkatanātha); Śāṅkara (from 2.11); Dhanapati and Vādirāja. Vimalabodha, Yajñanārāyaṇa, Rāmānuja (*Bhāvārthadīpikā*) are given in Addenda.

It should be noted that Śāṅkara's text of the BG differs from the critical edition in 17 places (only). Śāṅkara himself noted already 7 variants. The main differences are: मानापमानयो for मानावमानयो in BG 6.7d, 12.18b, 14.25a; कार्यकरण for कार्यकारण in BG 13.20; इदं for इमं in BG 18.68a and गुह्यतमं for गुह्यमहं in 18.75b.

Besides the commentaries, other indirect witnesses are: 2 epitomes (Kshemendra, ca. 1050 A.D. and Amaraśāstra), 5 *Gītāsāras* (essence of the *Gītā*) and 3 ancient translations and adaptations: one in Telugu (Andhra MBh, 11th c. A.D., only 1/9th of the BG), one in Old-Javanese (an abridged paraphrase with quotations from original Skt., 10th c. A.D.), one in Persian (a free rendering made at Akbar's court, later half 16th c.).

3. Additions: In the critical edition are indicated the extra stanzas found in some Mss. as 'star-passages', because they are numbered with a star from No. 85\* (found before BG 1.1) onward to No. 111\* (found after BG 18.78): these cover about 27 additional *ślokas* and 5 half-*ślokas*, with 4 summarizing *sangrahaślokas*. At the end come No. 112\* (3 lines:



षट् शतानि . . . , called *Gītāmāna*), No. 113\* (6 lines: गीता सुगीता . . . , called *Gītāprasasti*) and No. 114\* (2 lines: भारतामृत). Besides, the appendix contains a Tantrik prologue of ca. 26 lines, called *Gītā Karādinyāsah* (viz. a metrical introduction with 13 quotations from the BG text), a *Gītā Dhyānam* or meditation of 5 ślokas, and a *Gītāsāra* of 51 to 57 ślokas, found mainly in northern Mss.

The main problem about the extent of the BG arises from the *Gītāmāna* (No. 112\*), which gives the official figure of 745 ślokas: viz. 620 verses attributed to Krishna, 57 to Arjuna, 67 to Sanjaya and 1 to Dhritarāshtra. Nilakantha already rejected the authenticity of these lines, as they are not found in the Bengali version (गौडैर्-न पद्यन्ते). And in fact the BG text covers only 700 verses. S. K. Belvalkar sought to solve the problem:

“If reliance is to be placed on the above stanzas, it would be in the first place necessary to find a *Gītā* in which not only the total extent but the details of the individual speakers' totals agree . . . The contention that the Persian translator of the BG knows a *Gītā* of 745 stanzas has no probative force, because the Persian version is merely giving a Persian translation of the *Gītāmāna* verse, the actual *Gītā* text presupposed by the version being practically identical with the current text of 700 or 701 stanzas.

“The extra stanzas found in the Kashmir recension now before us total  $17\frac{1}{2}$  ślokas, 10 of them assigned to Krishna and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to Arjuna. That will not obviously help us in arriving at the detailed figures mentioned by the *Gītāmāna* stanzas for each speaker.”<sup>21</sup>

Belvalkar feels that the *Gītāmāna*-figures are somehow connected with the additional sections of the BG<sup>22</sup>. First the orthodox *Gītāpārāyana* or Recitation of the BG begins with the “Tantrik prologue” and the *Dhyānam*, of which at least the very last stanza has to be read as the absolutely indispensable minimum by way of an introductory *Mangala* prayer. Then, also the *Gītāsāra*-addition was thought of as an integral part of the BG. The *Gītāmāhātmyam* of 24 verses, from the *Śrīvārāha Purāna* is not taken into account for this calculation. Also the colophons at the end of each chapter (supplying also the traditional names of the chapter) — श्रीमद्भगवद् गीतासु उपनिषत्सु . . . are not included.

21. S. K. BELVALKAR, review of T. R. Chintamani, ‘SBG with Sarvatobhadra comm.’, in *Ann. BORI*, 24 (1943), 105.

22. S. K. BELVALKAR, “The BG ‘riddle’ unriddled”, in *Ann. BORI*, 19 (1938-39), 335-48.

C. Kunhan Raja (Introd. to *op. cit.* pp. xv-xxxix) criticizes Belvalkar's reasoning as a vain attempt, because the ‘riddle’ is no serious challenge to the ‘real *Gītā*’ of 700 verses, as commented upon by the great commentators.

## 1.3.f. Different recensions of the Gītā (see below, 3.3.a)

Whatever the extent of the verses, and the method of calculating them, the problem cannot be separated from the manner in which the text itself is transmitted. Though one can discuss the terminology used, the clarification brought by Belvalkar is important:

“A ‘Version’ should mainly embody modifications happening during the course of scribal transmission from a common codex... A ‘Recension’ should connote more deliberate and far-reaching alterations in the text, often changing its tone and emphasis.”<sup>23</sup>

Usually, for practical reasons, Śāṅkarācārya’s text is considered almost equivalent to the original. His dates are generally accepted as 788-820 A.D. Belvalkar concludes:

“We can accordingly conclude that, except for about a dozen minor variants, the form of the BG as preserved in the Bhāṣhya of Śāṅkarācārya is still the earliest and the most authentic available manuscript evidence.”<sup>24</sup>

Still, the question must be asked whether there is no pre-Śāṅkara form of the BG available to us? Gode adduces some quotations from a Jain source and concludes: “Haribhadrāsuri (ca. 750 A.D.) had before him some text of the Gītā which was different from the Vulgate text”<sup>25</sup>, unless they are his own making.

Schrader’s suggestion about a Kashmir recension being closer to the original is refuted by Belvalkar:

“F. Otto Schrader ... puts forth the view that these Kashmirian sources with their 14 additional stanzas and 4 half-stanzas unknown to the Vulgate, as well as the 282 exclusively Kashmirian *varietas lectionis*, preserve a more authentic, and even an intrinsically superior text of the BG, which, he claims, was pre-Śāṅkara.”<sup>26</sup>

Belvalkar declares all these variants to be of a secondary nature, for they only remedy some grammatical defects, simplify and normalize the syntax, or smoothen difficult passages.

23. S. K. BELVALKAR, ‘The so-called Kashmir Recension of the BG’, in *Annals BORI*, 19 (1938-39), 17, footnote.

24. *Ibidem*, p. 34. See also T. R. CHINTAMANI, ed. *SBG* — Kashmirian recension with the Sarvatobhadra comm. of Rājānaka Rāmakantha, Madras University, 1941.

25. P. K. GODE, ‘The BG in the Pre-Śāṅkarācārya Jain Sources’, in *Annals BORI*, 20 (1938-39), 194.

26. S. K. BELVALKAR, *BG*, critic. ed. of 1945, editorial note, p. XVI.



One clear example of pious tampering with the original is actually recorded in the case of a noteworthy Kashmirian writer, the scholiast Bhāskara. T. R. Chintamani for the first time published excerpts from the fragmentary commentary of Bhāskara, as he is quoted by the great Kashmirian Abhinavagupta. Both knew Śāṅkara, and the new readings they introduce must have been their own invention. Hence, S. Belvalkar argues:

“The extra stanzas which are found in the Kashmirian recension cannot be said to have originally belonged to the BG, and subsequently omitted from it. In a work like the BG the tendency rather would be to make additions than omissions. Nor is the Kashmirian recension alone in having extra stanzas. In some of the Mss. hailing from other parts of India extra stanzas, more than half a dozen, are found.”<sup>27</sup>

Belvalkar concludes that he cannot accept the view that the recension was current prior to the 8th century A.D., or that it is more authentic than the recension known to Śāṅkara. For this no sufficient proofs have been adduced by Schrader<sup>28</sup>.

Van Buitenen opened the discussion again, stating that “very close to Śāṅkara’s date, there existed two variant texts that were equally authoritative”<sup>29</sup>.

Another ancient witness which could possibly challenge the unicity of Śāṅkara’s text is the Old-Javanese version of the MBh, which cites only 80 $\frac{3}{4}$  stanzas of the BG (and 56 in paraphrase), but adds also a few extra stanzas as belonging to the BG. Belvalkar has made a thorough study of this 10th century testimonium (pp. LXXXV till CII,

27. In T. R. CHINTAMANI, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 104. Agraval concludes: “The ‘Kashmir Recension’ of the poem is not found to be the best and the peculiarly Kashmirian readings in the BG stand by themselves, without receiving adequate support from the best and the oldest Mss. of the other versions. The textual variants offered by the Śāradā and Kashmirian sources are late and secondary”, in S. K. BELVALKAR, *BG*, (1959); Introduction, p. VI.

28. ‘The so-called Kashmir recension’, *loc. cit.*, p. 33.

In a recent English translation of the BG, K. Bolle strictly follows the Belvalkar critical edition except for one passage (verse 1.10) where an emendation is accepted, based on the Bhāskara tradition: the last word of the lines of the śloka are interchanged, reading *bhīmābhīrakshitam* in 10b and *bhīshmābhīrakshitam* in 10d.

29. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, ‘A Contribution to the critical edition of the BG’, in *JAOS*, 85 (1965), 104.

with tabulation in Appendix II, pp. 727-53 !), arriving at a negative conclusion:

"It was thought necessary to undertake a detailed examination of the Old-Javanese 'version' of the BG because of the claim made on its behalf that it either constitutes, or at any rate serves as an important fingerpointer on the trail of a Third Recension of the BG (by the side of the two: the Vulgate and the Kashmirian Recensions) which it was hoped, would one day come to light in its entirety."<sup>30</sup>

The only valid critical conclusion is that this old version is not of any great help. The Old-Javanese version does not support an Ur-text or any intervening forms of the current text:

"Nobody would be justified in claiming that the text of the BG known to the Javanese redactor was the 'original' BG. Rather, when his total effort of translating, paraphrasing or citing in original is critically examined, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that the Old Javanese redactor was not a careful or deep Sanskrit scholar conversant with the technical terminology or philosophical trend or arguments of the BG."<sup>31</sup>

What the Old-Javanese translation should teach is to place the BG again in its total context of the MBh. Textual criticism cannot isolate the BG, all by itself apart from the Bhīshmaparvan or the whole MBh. G. Feuerstein warns that "to isolate the Gita and treat it as a distinct textual entity, independent of the main body of the epic, is a fallacious undertaking"<sup>32</sup>. He gives two arguments: 1. there are numerous references to the Gītā scattered throughout the MBh; 2. there is a remarkable agreement between the Gītā and the epic in the use of words, their language and thought.

This attention to the wider context makes the BG textual criticism a vast enterprise. Also other sections of the MBh-text have to be critically re-examined.

30. S. K. BELVALKAR, *Bhīshmaparvan*, pp. CI-CII.

31. Agraval in S. K. BELVALKAR, *SBG* (with translation, 1959), Introduction, p. VI.

32. G. FEUERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 57. See also M. M. MEHTA, *MBh: A study of the critical edition with special reference to the Suparnākhyāna of Ādiparvan*, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1976; J. GONDA, *Aantekeningen bij het Oud-Javaanse Bhīshmapārva*, Bibl. Jav., 1937; B. A. VAN NOOTEN, 'The BG, a source of the Old-Javanese Ramayana Kakavin', in *Journal of the Orient. Inst.*, Baroda, 23 (1974), 143-54.



#### 1.4. *The translator's concerns beyond the text*

##### 1.4.a. The division of the Gītā

Some commentators divide the chapters of the BG into three parts, dealing each with mainly one subject: *karmā* (1-6), *bhakti* (7-12) and *jnāna* (13-18). Yāmūnācārya (10th c. A.D., see below, 3.3.c) summarizes the Gītā as follows: "In the first six lectures it is commended to gain well-founded positions in *knowledge* and *action* directed to yoga, in order to succeed in the presentation of ātman. In the lectures 7-12 the *bhakti* yoga which can (only) be brought about by knowledge and action, is treated of as a means of attaining exact knowledge of God such as He is. The lectures 13-18 deal with topics supplementary to the foregoing, such as matter, ātman, the evolved creation, the sovereign Lord, *action*, *knowledge*, *bhakti*, etc. The whole teaching is set forth for the sake of Arjuna who, overcome by misplaced love, compassion and anxiety about dharma and adharma has taken refuge in God" (tr. by J. Van Buitenen).

Following Yāmūna, Rāmānuja divides the BG into 3 sextets (*shatka*) "the last of which gives further explanations of topics already dealt with in the preceding *shatkas*. In the first 12 lectures, then, the fundamental teaching of the Gītā is laid down, culminating in the essential doctrine of *bhakti*" (tr. by J. Van Buitenen). Knowledge of the true ātman, combined with *karmayoga* leads to *jnānayoga*, resulting in a contemplative attitude maintained in action itself. In turn, this leads to *bhaktiyoga* and through *bhakti* alone one is capable of reaching God.

Jñāneśvara, on the other hand, divides the BG into two parts, the first part (pūrvakhanda) ending in chapter 9 (replete with *brahmavidyā*) and the second part (uttarakhanda) culminating in chapter 18 (as the pinnacle of the Gītā-temple of salvation, built on the rock of self-knowledge).

Although found in the 'oldest' manuscript (Ñ, see above, 1.3.b) the colophons, at the end of each chapter, do not belong to the critical text<sup>1</sup>; they throw light, however, on the different aspects of yoga in the Gītā as understood in tradition. We briefly enumerate these titles with some random samples of their free translation.

Ch. 1: *Vishāda-yoga* or the Yoga of Dejection (or distress, despondency, sorrow) of Arjuna. As this mood looks odd in the great warrior,

1. See Belvalkar's critical edition, pp. [6]ff.

The names of the chapters of the BG are discussed at length by D. Satavalekar in his *Purushārtha-bodhinī Commentary*. V. Vedavāgīsha (Hind. 277a) freely composes his own Sanskrit headings, e.g. ch. 1=प्रस्ताविकः, ch. 4=स्थितप्रज्ञनामकः, ch. 7=लोकसंग्रहार्थकः.

Wilkins translates the first title as 'The Grief of Arjoon'; Lal writes 'The Indecision of Arjuna'.

Ch. 2: *Sāmkhya-yoga* or the Yoga of (self-) Knowledge; rendered by Edgerton as 'Discipline of Reason-method', by Purohit Svāmī as 'The Philosophy of Discrimination'. It should be pointed out that from verse 2.39 onwards, the practical yoga of disinterested activity is taught.

Ch. 3: *Karma-yoga* or the Yoga of Action, rendered by Arnold as 'The Book of Virtue in Works'.

Ch. 4: *Jnāna(-karma-samnyāsa-)yoga* or the Yoga of Wisdom. With Yoga is meant here a 'Religion of Knowledge' (Arnold), a path of 'Renunciation through Knowledge' (Prabhavānanda and Isherwood).

Ch. 5: (*karma-*)*Samnyāsa-yoga* or the Yoga of Renunciation, not of action as most versions render it, but *in* action, by "forsaking the fruits of action" (Wilkins).

Ch. 6: *Dhyāna-yoga* (or *ātma-sanyam/adhyātma-yoga*), the 'Yoga of Meditation' or 'Meditative Absorption' (Feuerstein).

Ch. 7: *Jnāna-vijnāna-yoga* or the Yoga of Discernment (or experience, practical knowledge, discriminative knowledge) and Realization.

Ch. 8: *Akshara-brahma-yoga* (or with A. Sastry *Abhyāsa-yoga*), the way to the eternal Brahma, the Imperishable Absolute, the Indestructible Spirit, 'Life Everlasting' (Purohit Svāmī).

Ch. 9: *Rāja-vidyā-rāja-guhya-yoga* or the Yoga of the Royal Science of inner Wisdom, the 'Royal Mystery of the Supreme Being' (Feuerstein), the 'Secret of Work' (Lal), 'Mysticism' (Prabhavānanda and Isherwood).

Ch. 10: *Vibhūti-yoga* or the Yoga of (glimpses of) Divine Glory, of 'Supernal Manifestations' (Edgerton), 'Heavenly Perfections' (Arnold).

Ch. 11: *Viśva-rūpa-darśana-yoga* or the Yoga of the Vision of God in his Universal Form, 'Cosmic Revelation' (Lal).

Ch. 12: *Bhakti-yoga* or the Yoga of Devotion, Love, 'Faith' (Arnold), of 'Serving the Deity in his visible and invisible Forms' (Wilkins).

Ch. 13: *Kshetra-kshetrajna-vibhāga* or *nirdeśa-yoga*, the Yoga of the Distinction between the Field and the Knower of the Field, matter and spirit, non-self and self, nature and soul.

Ch. 14: *Gunatraya-vibhāga-yoga* or the Yoga of the Distinction between the three Qualities or 'Dispositions' (D. Sarma).



Ch. 15: *Purushottama-yoga* or the Yoga of attaining the Supreme Being, the 'Lord-God' (Purohit Svāmī), the 'Supreme Self' (Chidbha-vānanda).

Ch. 16: *Daivāsura-sampad-vibhāga-yoga* or the Yoga of the Distinction between divine and demonic Principles, good and evil 'Destiny' (Wilkins) or 'Civilization' (Purohit Svāmī).

Ch. 17: *Śraddhā-traya-vibhāga-yoga* or the Yoga of the Distinction between three Kinds of Faith, the threefold Devotion.

Ch. 18: *Moksha-samnyāsa-yoga* or the Yoga of the 'Emancipation through Renunciation' (Feuerstein), 'Discipline of Renunciation unto Salvation' (Edgerton), of 'Forsaking the Fruits of Action for obtaining eternal Salvation' (Wilkins), Liberation by Renunciation, the 'Way of Salvation' (Lal).

These chapter-headings (given in the Sanskrit text at the end of each chapter) can be freely altered by the translator. E.g. Radhakrishnan chooses the following: 8. The course of cosmic evolution; 9. The Lord is more than his creation; 10. God is the source of all — to know Him is to know all; 11. The Lord's transfiguration; 12. Worship of the personal God is better than meditation of the Absolute; 14. The mystical Father of all beings; 15. The tree of life.

Also fitting sub-titles can be added. E.g. Aurobindo divides chapter two into two sections: The creed of the Aryan fighter (1-38) and The yoga of the intelligent will (39-72). Smaller sections are sometimes given a separate caption. Zaehner divides chapter 11 as follows: Arjuna asks to see Krishna's universal form; Krishna gives Arjuna a celestial eye; Krishna's transfiguration; Krishna reveals himself as time; Arjuna's hymn of praise; Krishna assumes his human form again. In his translation of 1970 A. Bahm gives a long set of minute sub-titles.

In the traditional text *uvāca* (i.e. spoke, said) is often inserted in order to identify the speaker. Here too, the translator can freely clarify the setting. E.g. for the very first *uvāca* (verse 1.1) the rendering 'The blind king Dhritarāshtra asked' is more appropriate than the literal translation 'Dhritarāshtra said'. Belvalkar remarks: "As to the 'uvāca' references, where the text itself uses a word like 'abravīt' the reference can be legitimately dispensed with, and I found that the best Mss. although not always and consistently — obey the rule"<sup>2</sup>. Even without the support of Mss. Belvalkar omitted *uvāca* in verses 2.2 and 2.11 because the previous verse gives *uvāca*.

Not only in the matters of colophon and *uvāca* references, but in the very presentation of the text the translator may have to make use of various devices in order to adequately transmit the message to the modern reader. Consequently, BG versions usually appeared along with a commentary and during the last one hundred years a definite pattern started to be adopted for most text-editions, as follows:

- a. the *śloka* in the Sanskrit original (*mūla pada*), mostly in Devanāgarī script, reproduced in two-verse lines or four half-verse lines.
- b. transliteration of the original (*lipyantara*), mostly in Roman script.
- c. decomposition of the Sanskrit text (*padaccheda*).
- d. indication of the grammatical relationship of words (*anvaya*); this is done either by placing numbers above the single words, indicating the logical sentence-structure or by changing the original order of words to suit the literal translation.
- e. word-for-word literal translation (*śabdārtha*).
- f. translation in prose or verse (*bhāvārtha* or real *anuvāda*).
- g. commentary (*tīkā*) on the individual verses or group of verses, with references to the great commentators. Sometimes explicative commentaries are given in footnotes or in the margin. The footnote (*tippanī*) may include textual points like variant readings (*pāthāntara*).

Belvalkar explains his use of footnote-references:

“... an attempt is made to cite parallel-references from the rest of the epic to the BG stanzas, half-stanzas and quarters. It is very probable that a few such references have escaped attention, but those actually listed are numerous enough to show the dominating influence of the BG phrases and sentiments over the rest of the epic... Purely exegetical notes are, of course, avoided as far as possible.”<sup>3</sup>

Some translators insert explicative words within the running translation, thereby scrupulously observing a system of e.g. square brackets for additional meanings [yet, all], and ordinary brackets for explanatory additions: “Then (Arjuna) whose banner is an ape”, as Zaehner does. These additions are often necessary requirements for a truly “dynamic equivalent” translation. M. N. Dutt (1897) dares not paraphrase too much when he renders verse 1.42 as follows: “The (deceased) ancestors whose *shrāddha* ceremonies have ceased, (to whom children have stopped to give food and water), fall (from heaven to hell).”



In the context of Bible-translation, Lefevere points out that footnote-material cannot be a substitute for a good translation:

“An explanation accompanying the text, though often quite useful in itself, deprives the text of its direct impact on the reader. Instead of re-establishing the living dialogue between author and reader, the explanation all too often interrupts it, and finally renders it impossible. The translator who provides a text-cum-commentary instead of an equivalent literary text, erects a new barrier while quite honestly trying to break down an old one.

“The reader is most likely to be bewildered by a translation written in understandable, even enjoyable literary language, in which he encounters, from time to time, names or terms he cannot understand without glancing at the (foot)notes accompanying the text. If he takes the trouble of plodding his way through the notes, the direct contact with the work is lost.”<sup>4</sup>

In the tradition of Bible-translation there has been quite an evolution with regard to the addition of footnotes. Traditionally, most readers expected a Bible-translation to contain the explicit ‘Word of God’, rendered in a faithful translation. Modern translators, however, stress the primacy of the message, and even seem to go far in apparently changing the original wording:

“Faithfulness in translation also includes a faithful presentation of the cultural and historical features of the original, without any attempt to modernize the text. Certain features, however, such as the hours of the day and the measures of weight, capacity, distance and area, are given their modern equivalents, since the information in those terms is of greater importance to the reader than the Biblical form of those terms.”<sup>5</sup>

Formerly, all bottom-page notes were shunned, while now only interpretative comments and doctrinal statements are avoided. Cultural and historical notes, textual notes, alternative renderings and references to other passages are amply given in modern Bible editions. Besides these, there are also appendices with word-lists, chronological charts, maps, indices, etc. In the same way, some translations of the Gītā have been enhanced with summaries, word-lists, general indices, glossaries, concordances of words, lists of persons, epithets, index of śloka-beginnings, notes on the pronunciation of Sanskrit, etc.

4. A. LEFEVERE, ‘The Translation of Literature. An Approach’, in *The Bible Translator*, 23 (1972), 114-15.

5. Preface to *The Good News Bible*, 1976.

## 1.4.b. Selective editions of the BG

Any translator concerned with the transmission of the message rather than with the mere form of the text will naturally have to decide about the size of his text, because for some readers it may not be relevant to have the complete text of the Gītā.

The shortest text found is the *Ekaśloki-Gītā* of one verse only; e.g. Saccidānanda Svāmī chose verse 8.7, quoted in Sanskrit and in English translation (1908). The traditional *bījam* or seed-mantra is verse 2.11a. In the *Sapta-śloki-Gītā* (e.g. Gītā Bhavan Gorakhpur edition) the following seven verses are usually published: 8.1, 13; 11.36; 13.13; 15.1, 15; 18.65. An *Athārah-śloki-Gītā* of eighteen verses has also been published for use in worship and meditation, e.g. by P. P. Gokhale (Kanhad, 1964) and D. S. Sarma, *Upāsana Gītā*, 1944, which appeared in English, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi. A Gītā of 40 verses has been published in Sanskrit, Tamil and English, for the Students' Club of Tiruvallur, 1961. Ramana Maharshi selected 42 verses (*Gītā Sāram*, Tiruvanamallai). Dhar Murli (1940) selected 108 verses and Svāmī Śivānanda published even more verses (1953, 2nd ed.). A text of 388 verses — more than half of the total BG — was translated by Keshab Kanto (1966).

Instead of selecting portions, one can also maintain the complete Gītā in a different arrangement. In his *Quest for the Original Gītā* (see below, 2.1.d), Khair published his *Tri-kāla-Gītā*, using red, blue and black colour for the subsequent layers or authors of the BG. J. M. Chatterjee (Delhi, 1977) re-arranged the BG into 15 chapters, adding quotations. V. R. P. Das (formerly Lt. Henry Wahab) compiled a *Śrī Gītāmrita Bodhinī* in which the translation of A. Besant is re-arranged under 27 headings (Madras, 1908). It has also been argued that the Lord's *viśvarupa-darśana* (ch. 11) should come first, since in the Indian tradition instruction is based on faith and experience<sup>6</sup>.

In order to make the Gītā more attractive to devotees it has also been edited with other devotional books, like the *Vishnusahasranāma* or in the form of a *Panca-ratna-gītā*, which gives five extracts of the MBh, viz. BG (with *Māhātmya*), *Vishnu-sahasranāma*, *Bhīshma-stava-rāja*, *Anu-smṛiti* and *Gajendra-moksha* (e.g. Indore, 1850).

In the original Sanskrit the BG was printed for the first time at the beginning of the 19th century (see above, 1.3.c). The polyglot edition of Garrett (Bangalore, 1849), with parallel columns in Sanskrit, Kannada and English, with Appendix in Latin and a List of Malayalam variants, was a brilliant achievement, never surpassed afterwards.

6. See Introduction to D. Fakirbhai's *Shri Khrist Gita*, 1969.



Since manuscripts on palm-leaf were tied together as a 'grantha', the text of the BG was sometimes printed oblong in *tābīzī* or *gutakā* form. Metro Printers, Madras, printed BG 12.1-20 on wooden leaves for the Tamilnadu Khadi and Village Industries Board. Also paperback and pocket-editions of the BG appeared. The transversal edition of Svāmī Vireśvarānanda (Madras, 2nd ed., 1976) has the following note: "We hope this compact edition of the Gita with a precise but readable English translation will meet the needs of busy men who feel drawn to this famous scriptural text". A mini-edition of the BG was produced by Premier Offset Works, Bombay, on 6 pages only, giving the English translation of Tilak's *SBG Rahasya* (1935). On one micro-card only, the complete text of the BG can be read through a microfilm of a Devanāgarī MBh; this is a copy of a manuscript at the Hyderabad University Library and is deposited in the Centre for East-Asian Cultural Studies (Unesco, Delhi, reel 31).

From 1927 onwards, the Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, has been publishing Gita-diaries (*gītādainandinī*) in which the complete Gītā is quoted in Sanskrit, divided over the whole year. Publishers also sometimes display their ignorance when quoting the BG. The Sanskrit text of the BG on the cover-page of Kamensky's *La BG* (Paris, 1964) appeared upside down and the very expensive illustrated album *Inde* (A. Menen, tr. from English by B. Arthaud, 1972) gives a quotation of verse 15.12 on the first page, printed upside down.

#### 1.4.c. The BG in art

Manuscripts of the BG have often been illustrated with beautiful miniature paintings. Illustrated pages appear in the copy of the *Razm Nāmah* (the Persian abridgment of the MBh by Faizi Mubarak, preserved in the Royal Library of Jaipur). On Janmāshtamī (25th August 1978) a first day cover stamp was released in India with the quotation of the famous verse 2.47; the stamp shows the traditional picture of Krishna and Arjuna on the battle-field. Innumerable miniatures with scenes from the BG have been reproduced and some are catalogued or have been published. We only refer to the Balinese cloth painting showing the Kurukshetra scene given with an Old-Javanese Bharata-Yuddha Poem<sup>7</sup>.

7. H. H. JUYNBOLL, *Een Balineesche doek met voorstellingen uit het Oud-Javaansche heldendicht Bharata-Yuddha*, Hadi Poestaka, 's Gravenhage, 1922. In a BG-miniature, preserved at the "Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden", Krishna is depicted instructing Arjuna, who surprisingly still holds his bow. In the National Museum there is an illustration of the Kangra school, which shows Arjuna seated in his chariot; but in a painting from Rajasthan (ca. 1800), Arjuna sits outside on a platform, while an owl occupies the empty chariot!

We also have the modern painting by William Blake: "Blake had been reading the Bhagvat-Geeta (London, 1785) and had been so impressed by it that he made a water-colour drawing of 'The Brahmins — Mr Wilkins translating the Geeta' (No. 84 in Rossetti's list of Blake's paintings)."<sup>8</sup> Arnold's translation appeared in 1934, illustrated by W. Pogang, while Burnouf's French translation was re-edited with illustrations by F. Arri in 1905. Sénart's French rendering (1922) was illustrated by H. Tirman. The Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, published several *sacitra* BG editions, in English and Hindi, illustrated with multi-coloured pictures. A *BG Illustrated* appeared in the New Book Depot, Delhi, 1976.

A special effort at illustrating the BG artistically was made by Paramananda S. Mehra, who worked at it for 38 years (*SBG, the Gita in Pictures*, Bombay, 1954); Vasvani writes in the Foreword:

"The Gita has awaited skilful hands to convey the beauty of its wondrous message through the artist's paint and brush. There are pictures almost for every page of this Citramaya SBG, beginning with a metrical composition with the Om-nectar at the centre, a star expanding it into 6 basic yoga-aspects and around it 18 leaves of lotus-flowers representing the 18 chapters... The author is studiously absent in the presentation of the prose rendering in English so that the reader may have an independent and first-hand knowledge of the doctrines of the Book from a perusal of pictorial expression and the text."

*The BG As It Is* of Svāmī P. Bhaktivedānta is illustrated with traditional paintings which appeared invariably in all the translations. Immortal Pictorial Classics (in Hindi *Amara Citra Kathā*) also produced a Gītā pictorial in several Indian languages. Svāmī Chinmayānanda recommends it warmly. "The comics literature", he says, "is proving today to be the most effective 'art' by which the impressionable minds of children can get readily soaked with exemplary ideals and creative ideas... Arjuna, a confused child of his age, is tenderly guided to re-discover in himself his own heroism."

An effective application of photographic skill for illustrating the BG is found in the edition of Shri Purohit Svāmī (London, 1978), with photographs of C. Bruce who travelled through India, Nepal, Sikkim, Java and Bali for this purpose. A similar edition of the Rig-Veda (12 hymns) was prepared by J. Le Mee (translator and calligrapher), with photographs by I. Gruttner (London, 1975).

In order to transmit the message of the BG to a large public and rural masses the various media of mass-communication have been

8. According to S. F. Damon, quoted in D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 327.



used, like drama, songs, and musical performances. In four parts, the Chinmaya Mission Trust, Bangalore, produced the BG sung on cassette-tapes, while the Shri Ramakrishna Mission, Trichur, produced the BG in 7 LP records. P. Lal, whose English trans-creation of the BG appeared in 1965, read the text for two LP records, in 1976. Vasvani's Sindhi translation appeared on cassette too (Dada Shyam Cassette Series, 201). Even Ludwig von Beethoven is said to have jotted down passages from the Gītā in his notebook, possibly thinking of composing a symphony on the Gītā<sup>9</sup>. E. Trémisot staged his BG in 7 episodes, with orchestra and choral singing, for a musical contest in Paris, in 1900-1903. D. Van Hinloopen-Laberton produced his Dutch *Heilandslied* (or song of the saviour), with musical notes for singing the text (Java, 1910).

For the Gītā in drama, we refer only to R. Misra, *Gītāmrita Nātaka*, (in verse), Calcutta, 1923 and S. Muktarani, *BG in the form of a Hindi drama in 5 acts* (Rishikesh, 1953). In different languages translations of the Gītā have been especially prepared for children<sup>10</sup>, for students or even for rural women<sup>11</sup>. Since 1938 the Śrī Gītā Parīkshā Samiti (Gita-Press, Gorakhpur) organizes annual examinations on the Gītā, for which students have to know long portions of the text by heart. Correspondence courses about the Gītā (e.g. *Patrācāra-pāthyakrama*) have also been organized and the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan has a special Gītā-Vidyālaya, which is an academy for the study of Indian Culture with reference to the BG.

Innumerable also are the Gītā centres and the publications and periodicals dealing specifically with the Gītā<sup>12</sup>.

9. See *German Indology past and present*, Bombay, 1969, p. 4; D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 223.

10. Only a few examples are mentioned here.

V. S. CAUDHURI, *Cheleder Gītā* (for children, in simple Bengali), Dacca, 1921.

L. MIRCHANDANI, *Gītā-essence for children*, Yoga Vedanta Forest Academy, Rishikesh, 1954.

Idem, *Gītā for the Young*, ibidem, 1954.

'Prakāśa' U. SIMHA, *Bāla-BG*, Darbhanga, 1961.

V. K. ŚROTRĪYA, *Mūlānci Gītā*, Pune, 1971.

K. VANDOPĀDHYĀYA, *Meyeder Gītā* (for girls), Calcutta, 1922.

M. BHUTALINGAM, *Bāla MBh* (illustr.), (Prakāśan Vibhāga, Govt. of India), New Delhi, 1979.

T. S. VARMA, *Bāla-Gītā*; Y. SEN, *Śisugītā*.

11. M. S. MARĀTHE, *Gītāgītā*, Bombay, 1904.

N. C. KELKAR, *Gāvrānā Gītā*, Poona, 1944; (in simple Marathi, in the form of a dialogue between the author and a villager).

12. E.g. The Department of Religious Studies at the University of Sydney is publishing *The Journal of Studies in the BG*.

## CHAPTER II

### A 'DYNAMIC EQUIVALENCE' TRANSLATION

A good transcultural translation cannot be made once and for all. The target languages are in constant development and translators must continually renew their interiorizing understanding of the source-text and the dynamic expression in their target language. At the same time, the literary and cultural setting of the source-text — especially if written in ancient times — has to be thoroughly studied and taken into consideration.

The Gītā text is a good — and short — example for a case-study which could give interesting information to all transcultural translators about the problems inherent in the translation of an ancient sacred text. A study, in detail, of existing translations of the Gītā is a rewarding enterprise, but cannot be made by one scholar only. We have limited our study to some introductory remarks and to a substantial survey of translations. This list can be used for research in two directions: one, a scholar may study e.g. translations of the Gītā in the early 19th century in both Indian and non-Indian languages; or two, he may study one particular language and focus his attention on the development of a language over two centuries using verses of the Gītā as samples.

For the translation of the Gītā all kinds of methods have been tried, e.g. free and literal translations, prose or verse, paraphrases, with and without commentary, and the would-be translator can draw his conclusions from the successes and errors of his predecessors.

Translators of the Gītā (mainly into non-Indian languages) and of the Bible (into any modern language) face very similar problems. They write for a reader who belongs to a culture totally different from the source-text, which is religious, ancient and literary and, like the books of the Bible, the Gītā belongs to a special type of literature, called 'Scripture'.

#### 2.1. *Translating a Scripture*

Śāstrānuvāda or the translation of a Scripture is not an easy task. Yet, in spite of the effort required, it has been the most ancient and the most frequent exercise in the field of translation. The Jewish Scripture was already translated from Hebrew into Greek before the common era and today, after 2,000 years, translators of the Bible have at their disposal



ancient manuscripts, a modern critical mind and all linguistic and literary knowledge required.

In the present chapter we intend to describe the setting of the Gītā at the time of its composition and apply the appropriate method for Scripture translation, viz. Dynamic Equivalence, to the translation of the Gītā, illustrating the theory with a few examples.

The specific problems with regard to the translation of the Gītā arise mainly from the fact that it is a Scripture with an inspiring message, a mystical content and a literary presentation.

### 2.1.a. The inspiring message of the Gītā

The Gītā contains a message which is apparently so universally 'human' that its meaning remains relevant to all ages and cultures. It is not a 'neutral' text, but one which has played a significant role in India's religious and philosophical schools as well as in the practical life of the average person. It is neither a 'sectarian' text, because any scripture which is called inspired does not only derive its sacredness from the subjective belief of its worshippers. The Gītā-text is loaded with a dynamic inspiration which lifts up and moves the heart and mind of the reader.

"The Gita could be read through in two or three hours. But to understand and assimilate all that it contains would probably take a whole lifetime... We may read the Gita a thousand times and think we have exhausted its meaning, but the next time we go to it we get a new light which we never dreamt of before. The suggestiveness of this wonderful book is really infinite, if only we begin to interpret it for ourselves in terms of our own experience."<sup>1</sup>

Being a sacred text, the Gītā has meanings which may be clear to a person only in particular circumstances of his life. Lal clearly defends the theory that a translation of the BG should be practical, meant to stir the heart of the common reader:

"The common man's interest in the Gita is purely pragmatic. He does not bother whether Krishna was a historical person, when and where he lived, and whether such profound discussion could have taken place on a field of battle. Nor is he concerned with controversies about the meanings of subtle phrases or the relative superiority of various disciplines.

"What he wants is to learn as quickly as possible the principle teachings of the Gita in order to live by them. He would have them

1. D. S. ŚARMĀ, *The BG*, Madras, 1940 (3rd ed.), p. vi.

highlighted and explained to him in simple, clear and convincing words so as to facilitate their assimilation for practical use.”<sup>2</sup>

In his Prologue to the translation of the Gītā by de Nicolas, R. Pannikar rightly emphasizes that the reader should be dependent upon and at the same time independent from the sacred text: dependent upon the text in as far as it is an embodied model of such inspiration, from which real vision can be drawn, and independent from the text in order to be inspired by his own situation and reflection upon it<sup>3</sup>.

Consequently, for a translator, reading the original text is not a purely linguistic exercise. He should know that the text has been and can be a source of inspiration, that its message is the expression of an inspiration.

Strictly speaking, the Gītā does not qualify as a ‘revealed’ text (*śruti*). It is part of the Smṛiti literature. Yet, even today, “to most good Vishnuites, the Gita is what the New Testament is to good Christians. It is their chief devotional book; in it millions of Hindus have for centuries found their principal source of religious inspiration.”<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the text of the BG becomes a tool for a dynamic inspiration which comes at the occasion of reading the text and it is not clear whether the text itself can claim any inspiration. Gandhiji had certainly great respect for the text of the Gītā, although he remarked: “I exercise my judgment about every scripture, including the Gita. I cannot let a scriptural text supersede my reason.”<sup>5</sup> Yet, the rational approach has to be respectful: “A prayerful study and experience are essential for a correct interpretation of the Scriptures... Those who are lacking in *bhakti*, lacking in faith, are ill qualified to interpret the Scriptures.”<sup>6</sup>

2. R. B. LAL, *The Gita in the Light of Modern Science*, Bombay, 1970, p. x.

Aurobindo too is of the opinion that “if we steep ourselves in the spirit of this great Scripture and, above all, if we have tried to live in that spirit, we may be sure of finding in it as much real truth as we are capable of receiving as well as the spiritual influence and actual help that, personally, we were intended to derive from it. And that is after all what Scriptures were to give, the rest is academical disputation or theological dogma”, in A. ROY, ed., *The Message of the Gita*, 1938, p. 2.

3. A. DE NICOLAS, *Avatara*, New York, 1976; Prologue by Pannikar, p. xi.

4. F. EDGERTON, *The BG or Song of the Blessed One*, Chicago, 1925, p. 1.

5. In *Harijan*, 5 Dec. 1936.

6. M. K. GANDHI, *The Teaching of the Gita*, ed. by A. HINGORANI, Bombay, 1962, p. 13.



To the Christian translator too the Gītā appears as a unique text which 'inspires' the reader<sup>7</sup>. The translator should retrace the original meaning of the text, which may be beyond words; this meaning is the self-expression of an individual (or individuals) who tried to describe what arose in his mind or what appeared to him as a communication from the Divine.

It is the contribution of modern hermeneutics<sup>8</sup> to make the translator aware of the whole 'world' of a text and make him find the original 'hermeneia' or meaning of the text as the self-expression of the author. As soon as the personal experience has been fixed in a text, this takes on a life of its own in the world of language. Hence, the translator should also take into account the living contextual wording of the message as it is carried through different ages and cultures. The hermeneutic consideration of a text should aim at an interpretation of the meaning which was actually conveyed to the reader at the beginning. Consequently, the translator must not only feel empathy with the original inspiration, by penetrating into the ancient scriptural world; he must also allow the text in its source language to make its initial impact on him, in order to be 'translated' into the present text and its enacted signification. Then only can he 'translate' the text as a word-event and let it speak again for the reader in the target language, thus bringing about a new revelation.

In other words, the work of translating begins with a recapturing of the insight which entered the consciousness of the 'seer' and which he communicated to his disciples, so that they too could participate in his experience<sup>9</sup>. The transcultural translator of an inspired text can be compared to a good instructor of mystical literature, like Svāmī Shankarānanda who "prepared his classes by reflecting early in the morning on the particular aphorism which he was going to expound to us. He then meditated; and at the class he gave not what he had read in the commentaries, but what came out of his heart."<sup>10</sup> As soon as the personal act of uttering the initial perception is over, the message, now captured in words, acquires a life and an evolution of its own.

7. See I. VEMPENY, *Inspiration in the non-Biblical Scriptures*, Theol. Pub., Bangalore, 1973.

8. The Greek verb *hermeneo* does not only mean 'to interpret, to translate', but also 'to put into words, to communicate in articulate speech'.

See A. C. THISELTON, "'The Interpretation of Tongues: a New Suggestion in the Light of Greek Usage in Philo and Josephus', in *The Journal of Theol. Stud.*, 30 (1979), 15-36.

9. See T. M. MANICKAM, "'Insight' as Inspiration and 'Anubhava' as Revelation in the Hindu Scriptures", in *Research Seminar on Non-Biblical Scriptures*, ed. by D. S. AMALORPAVADASS, Bangalore, 1976.

10. VANDANA, *Gurus, Ashrams and Christians*, 1978, p. 7.

On the level of language it can be carried unto different ages and cultures and, if properly translated, the original experiential communication may stir the reader again.

Only after this interiorization of the message can the translator re-formulate the guru's inspiration, thus making the new disciple (i.e. the reader) in his own situation regain the original experience and pre-conceptualized insight. A translation of the Sanskrit Gītā should bring about the dynamic emergence of the inner sense of the Gītā. The inspiration of 2,000 years ago is not just repeated but mediated by the very modification of the initial formulation. As a result, the reader should be able to stand apart from the text and not get fixed in the context. Was it not the very problem of Arjuna that he was so involved in his situation that he could no longer discern what was really right? "To take the Gita's words literally would be to fall into the same misconception that led Arjuna to his crisis and the reader to a possible misunderstanding and/or institutionalization of man's hope, faith, charity and even [to] crisis and despair."<sup>11</sup> Within the context of the Mahābhārata the author(s) of the Gītā have taken a specific person (Arjuna) in a concrete, historico-political situation and described his insight against the background of this person's crisis. Therefore, "the translator is bound by what stands there [in the source-text] and yet he cannot simply convert what is said out of the foreign language into his own without himself becoming again the one saying it"<sup>12</sup>. Gadamar further remarks:

"The understanding of a text has not begun at all as long as the text remains mute. But a text can begin to speak... When it does begin to speak, however, it does not simply speak its word, always the same, in lifeless rigidity, but gives ever new answers to the person who questions it and poses ever new questions to him who answers it. To understand a text is to come to understand oneself in a kind of dialogue. This contention is confirmed by the fact that the concrete dealing with a text yields understanding only when what is said in the text begins to find expression in the interpreter's own language."<sup>13</sup>

Philology and historical disciplines remain necessary auxiliaries for understanding the source-medium and re-creating the atmosphere of the original intellectual and devotional milieu. This return to the past is insufficient and the translator has to build a bridge between two con-

11. A. DE NICOLAS, *Avatara*, New York, 1976, p. 379.

12. H. G. GADAMAR, *Philosophical Hermeneutics* (tr. from German and), ed. by O. LINGE, Berkeley, 1977, p. 67.

13. *Ibidem*, p. 57.



textual situations: he has to understand fully the original setting and grasp the message as it was worded then and there. "If we are to know other people, other cultures, we must get under their skin in their own terms."<sup>14</sup> At the same time the translator has to return to his own interpretative situation in order to re-incarnate the message for himself and for his contemporaries.

It would appear that translations of the *Gītā* on the whole fail to do justice to the two poles of the contextual field in which they operate, being "out of touch with today's as well as the *Gita's* context"<sup>15</sup>.

Every translation is less than the original, even if it is a masterly re-creation, and "the requirement that a translation has to be faithful cannot remove the fundamental gulf between the two languages"<sup>16</sup>. Yet, the gulf can be bridged because there is a common hermeneutical experience. The foreign language can be received, although within one's own horizon. It can gain new validity, within one's own concepts. Translation permits a transcultural dialogue and allows foreign and personal elements to merge into a new form. No doubt, what is found in a particular formulation of one language is altered when rendered in another language and is thus introduced into a linguistic world structured differently.

Applying the contribution of modern hermeneutics to translations of the BG, Feuerstein writes:

"Fortunately enough, scholars are beginning to realize that a purely philological and antiquarian treatment of texts like the *Gita* cannot do justice to their true content and a more adequate, 'contextual' approach to the study of these scriptures is gaining headway. Nevertheless, philology and the historical disciplines are instrumental factors in understanding both the archaic language medium in which the *Gita* was transmitted and also in re-creating the intellectual milieu in which it was composed."<sup>17</sup>

### 2.1.b. The mystical content

Edgerton points to the 11th chapter of the *Gītā*, entitled The Mystic Vision of God as being particularly hard to translate:

"The greater part of the eleventh chapter of the *Gita* is devoted to the confessedly vain attempt to describe this indescribable. The ecstatic language of the description is hard to transfer to another

14. A. DE NICOLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

15. *Ibidem*, p. 167.

16. H. G. GADAMAR, *Truth and Method* (German, 1960), London, 1975, p. 347.

17. G. FEUERSTEIN, *Introduction to the BG*, London, 1974, pp. 60-61.

tongue. Even in externals the passage differs from its surroundings; instead of the sober meter of most of the poem, it breaks forth into more elaborate lyric measures, which Sir Edwin Arnold imitates in his English version."<sup>1</sup>

The usual approach to a mystical text is to assume that the initial experience behind it was so deep and mysterious that it could not be expressed fully. But even knowing this, the mystic would at least attempt to describe something of his profound experience. However, in his study about the language of mysticism, Organ contends that we are mistaken in assuming that the mystic is communicating the content of his experience. Communication of ideas is only one of the purposes of language. The statements of the mystic convey an emotional or motivational meaning. He uses language in a non-communicative fashion. When he verbalizes his experience, it is not to communicate some information, but to motivate, to stimulate, to invite others to see their own enlightenment in their own way<sup>2</sup>.

A 'true' mystical 'communication' is not the correct description of an experience; it is the successful motivation of another to the realization of his own mystical experience. Truth in mysticism is a form of pragmatic truth. If a mystic through his statements woos another to discover his own salvation in his own way, then the mystic may be said to have spoken truly. The way of salvation is unique to each individual... The Bhagavad Gītā invites the Hindu to select any one of the four yogas (works, thought, meditation, devotion) and to stay with it, since all roads lead to the top of the mountain. Why should a mystic try to communicate his way of liberation when each man must find his own? Organ further makes an interesting comparison with the Indian context: "The verbalizing mystic is a guru, that is, an enlightened man who is primarily concerned about the salvation of his pupil, as distinguished from a pandit who is a clever man primarily concerned about the education of his pupil."<sup>3</sup>

A mystical text is not meant to be understood intellectually, but is to help one seek liberation. Consequently, the correct approach to a mystic passage in the Gītā is not the mere linguistic analysis in terms of intellectual understanding. The translator has to captivate the motivational expression which is conveyed through the images in order to invite the listener (or the reader) to a personal surrender. He has to find an adequate form or style in which to express this invitation.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

2. T. W. ORGAN, *Western Approaches to Eastern Philosophy*, Ohio Un. Press, 1975, p. 167.

3. *Ibidem*, p. 166.



Svāmī Prabhavānanda and C. Isherwood realized that they had to translate the *Gītā* in a variety of styles, partly prose and partly verse. For example, describing the contrast between the first and the eleventh chapter, they say: "The first chapter is pure epic, continuing in the mood of the Mahabharat. The shouting of the warriors, the neighing of horses and the outlandish names of chieftains are still sounding in our ears as the dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna begins. To translate this epic prologue as though it belonged to the philosophical discourse which follows would be to cut the *Gita* right out of its historical setting and deprive it of its vivid local colour."<sup>4</sup>

### 2.1.c. The literary presentation of the *Gītā*

The inspiration of the *Gītā* comes to us in a work of special literary beauty (although there are quite a few works in Sanskrit literature with a much higher literary quality<sup>1</sup>) and the translator has to preserve the literary expressiveness and effectiveness of the original. The embodiment of the initial vision took place on a level which transcends the linguistic context of a mere syntactical string of words. "The BG has been exhaustively studied, both in India and in the West, with regard to its content. Little attention, however, has been given to its form, and least of all to its poetical or stylistic form."<sup>2</sup>

Attempts have been made, however, to investigate the literary beauty of the BG. Kulapati points out that "the immense popularity of the Geeta arises not only because its message provides moral and spiritual strength to man, but also for its wonderful literary form... The language is lucid and simple though pregnant with meaning, perspicuous and penetrating. It has the freshness of the early spoken language of the days of

4. S. PRABHAVĀNANDA and C. ISHERWOOD, *The Song of God: Bhagavad Gita*, Vedanta Society, 1944, Translators' Preface.

They further remark: "The Gita is also prophetic. Like the Vision of Isaiah or the Psalms of David, it contains ecstatic mystical utterances about the nature and attributes of God. These are poetry, and demand poetic expression. The diction must try to correspond to the inspiration. Ordinary prose will render them flat and boring.

"Finally, the Gita is a gospel. Its essential message is timeless. In words which belong to no one language, race or epoch, incarnate God speaks to man, His friend. Here, the translator must forget all about Vedanta philosophy and Sanskrit terms; all about India and the West, Krishna and Arjuna, past and future. He must aim at the utmost simplicity."

1. L. RENO, *Sanskrit et Culture*, p. 161.  
2. M. B. EMENEAU, 'BG Notes' in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris, 1968, p. 269.

old. Its apt similes and metaphors have gone into the making of Sanskrit literature, and through it, of all our Indian languages. Truth is driven home by words used in sharp contrast or in epigrammatic form, and some of the heart-stirring calls are couched in a language which, when read over and over again, becomes part of the mental content of the reader.”<sup>3</sup> The author quotes a few examples of phrases which cannot fail to stick to the memory of the reader: योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् (2.50, yoga is perfection in action); न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति (9.31, my devotee shall not perish); न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चित् दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति (6.40, Never shall anyone who does good, dear friend, come to the path of woe).

Some of the important literary qualities and devices of the Gītā are briefly described by Athavale:

“The first great merit that the poem possesses is its dramatic and striking beginning which rouses the curiosity of the reader, and asks him to go through the entire composition. Another outstanding merit of the poem is its easy flow and therefore the sermons of the Lord do not become boring to the listener or reader. Again the song is not monotonous, because the sermon is interspersed with questions put by Arjuna to the Lord.

“Another device used to avoid this monotony is the use of different metres. In addition to these merits, the poem possesses the quality of ‘prasāda’, i.e. the simplicity of language and benediction. This is one of the reasons why the BG is so popular and why in many homes it is daily recited... The element of ‘adbhuta’ (awe and wonder) especially in the chapter of Vibhūtiyoga and Viśvarūpadarśana adds grace to the poem.”<sup>4</sup>

Emeneau argues that neglect of literary criticism may distort the translation. The epic context of the Gītā should make the translator alert to the poetic devices of repetition, chiasms, refrains, concatenation and antithesis, which affect the meaning of words in a whole discourse, beyond the simple verse:

“It has been pointed out that the epic style typically involves unitary composition of long passages, whereas the later poetic style (*kāvya*) just as typically composes one verse at a time, even when it deals with epic subjects. Those who are nurtured in the *kāvya* style and are trained to appreciate its values may well fail to read the epic with an eye to the implications of this difference of technique.”<sup>5</sup>

3. “Kulapati's Letter”, in *Bhavan's Journal*, 9 (1962), No. 3, 7.

4. A. ATHAVALE, ‘Divine Approach to the Gita’, in M. D. PARADKAR, *Studies in the Gītā*, Bombay, 1970, p. 69.

See also N. A. DESHPANDE, ‘Literary beauty of the BG’, in *Ibidem*, 107-10, and R. K. SHARMA, *Elements of Poetry in the MBh*, Berkeley, 1964.

5. M. B. EMENEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 269.



A typical example illustrating the intentional structure of the Gītā is found in chapter 6. There, the word *evam* is used in verse 15 in reference to the preceding section of verses 10-14 which it summarizes. Again, *evam* is used in verse 28 with the same purpose of summarizing the section of verses 16-27. Moreover, there is a contrastive concatenation of words between and within the sections; it is important to notice the apparent similarity between vv. 15 and 28.

First section: 10 ab: योगी युंजीत सततम्-आत्मानम् रहसि स्थितः ।

14 cd: ... युक्त आसीत मत्परः ॥

summary in v. 15: युंजन्-एवम् सदा-आत्मानम् योगी नियत+मानसः ।

Second section:

27d: ब्रह्म+भूतम्-अकल्मषम् ॥

summary in v. 28: युंजन्-एवम् सदा-आत्मानम् योगी विगत+कल्मषः ।

“One might be tempted to regard v. 15 — which comes between two sections which give two interpretations of the term yoga and reject the first — as pivotal and, consequently, as ambivalent. But *evam* in v. 15 clearly refers back to the preceding section, and rules out any ambivalence; yoga in v. 15 refers to ascetic practices. What is involved in the repetition in v. 28 is a subtle antithesis (*virodha*). Verse 15 declares the yoga of vv. 10-14, ascetic practices, to be *prima facie* a way to bliss. But the practically identical v. 28 declares the yoga of vv. 16-27 to be the real way to bliss, and contradicts the passage ending in v. 15... The watchful hearer of the passage, when he hears the repetitive v. 28, is to remember v. 15 and to realize that it is contradicted.”<sup>6</sup>

From the above example it is clear that single words cannot always be translated as such. Each word has different shades of meaning, often depending on the context. The fact that the Gītā message is transmitted through separate *ślokas* may lead the translator to an exaggerated use of short unrelated sentences. Such choppy translation can be avoided by reading the whole in context, by considering a longer stretch of discourse, and by indicating transitions and interconnections. Through discourse analysis the translator marks within a pericope how sections and sentences and minor statements are linked together.

A translator should take into account all these aspects of the literary text, otherwise his translation is a mere metatext, i.e. a text without literary value of its own. It is never read for its own sake, but for the sake of, or in juxtaposition with the original. Such a translation is a mere scholarly or critical commentary. “Explanatory translations do not

transcend the level of descriptive scholarship; through an act of creative imagination, literary translations do.”<sup>7</sup>

A typical example illustrating the problem of translating a poetical text is the question about rendering the text in prose or in verse. The original Sanskrit text is usually composed in the *anushtubha* verse of 4 times 8 syllables, which occur in the following pattern of either short (˘) or long (—) syllables:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a	—				˘	—	—	—
b	˘	—			—	—	˘	—
c	˘	—			—	—	—	—
d	—				˘	—	˘	—

The rest of the syllables are not fixed, yet in the first 4 syllables two short ones should never follow one another and in b c d the pattern — ˘ — should never occur.

Milman has attempted to translate some verses of the BG exactly as in the original, in eight-line measure, without rhyme, following the Sanskrit in number of syllables and cadence. We quote one example:

“My kindred, Krishna, I behold, all standing for the battle arm’d;  
My every quailing member fails, and wan and wither’d is my face;  
As the wide permeating air fills all the ether’s boundless space,  
So deem ye, that indwells in me the sum of all created things;”<sup>8</sup>

Although close adherence to the original form looks artificial, still it is not impossible. Caleb too tried to produce a strict metrical rendering: “The anushtubha verses appear in my version in iambic tetrametre, whilst the trishtubha verses take the form of the iambic pentametre... For metrical reasons I have in nearly all cases dropped the final *a* of the Sanskrit nouns.” We quote verse 11.38:

“The Primal God, the Ancient Being Thou,  
And of the universe Receptacle Supreme,  
Knower and Known, the Highest Dwelling-place,  
By Thee, O Endless-formed, the worlds are filled.”<sup>9</sup>

We would plea for abandoning the original poetical form if one can re-express the message more forcefully in a new literary form, which appeals to the reader. For quotations from different English translations, see below ch. 5.4 and 5.5.

7. A. LEFEVRE, ‘The translation of literature’, in *The Bible Transl.*, 23 (1972), 115.

8. Quoted from *Quarterly Review*, vol. 45 (n.d.), in E. GARRETT’s Polyglot Edition of the BG, Bangalore, 1849, pp. 111-19 (Appendix).

9. C. C. CALEB, *The Song Divine*, London, 1911.



Discussing the problem of translating Homer's *Iliad*, Butcher and Lang conclude that there can be no final translation of the great Greek poet. The taste and literary habits of each age demand different qualities in poetry. Homer has been translated quite differently in the Elizabethan age, when Anne Pope's dignity was the ideal model. Later, Gladstone presented Homer as a ballad minstrel and Worsley used the romantic style. Wouldn't an epic prose style be most adequate?

"A prose translation cannot give the movement and the fire of a successful translation in verse; it only gathers, as it were, the crumbs which fall from the richer table, only tells the story without the song. Yet to a prose translation is permitted, perhaps, the close adherence to the archaisms in the epic, which in verses become mere oddities."<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2. *The authorship and composition of the Gītā*

Before one undertakes the hazardous task of transferring a religious document from one culture to another, through the medium of language, one should be acquainted with the original setting in which the text was written. We now discuss the authorship and the composite structure or layer-structure of the Gītā.

### 2.2.a. The traditional author

According to tradition, the authorship of the whole MBh and of the Gītā in it is attributed to Vyāsa Dvaipāyana. Al-Birūnī, the Arab traveller in India ca. 1000 A.D., gives the following testimony:

"Besides, they have a book which they hold in such veneration that they firmly assert that everything which occurs in other books is found also in this book, but not all which occurs in this book is found in other books. It is called *Bhārata*, and is composed by Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, at the time of the great war between the children of Pāndu and those of Kuru. The title itself gives an indication of those times. The book has 100,000 *ślokas* in eighteen parts, each of which is called *parvan*."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, for centuries the honour of Gītā-composing has gone to Vyāsa, who is also Veda-Vyāsa, the 'collector' of the Vedas, but more especially 'Mahābhāratakāra', the author of the MBh. He is

10. S. BUTCHER and A. LANG, 'Translations of Homer', in R. GARNETT, *The International Library of Famous Literature*, vol. 1, London, 1900, p. 312.

1. Quoted in I. SEREBRYAKOV, *Sketches of Ancient Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1972, p. 86.

supposed to be *krishna* (of 'black' complexion) and *dvaipāyana* (born on an island) from the virgin Matsyagandhā Satyavatī, as son of Parāśara. He is also called Bādarāyana, because of his austere penance at Badarikāśrama. The Gītā-Māhātmya tells that our guru Śrī Vedavyāsa-jī churned all the Veda-sāstras and produced out of it this BG-*amrita*. The original disciple of Vyāsa, called Vaiśampāyana, recited the great story of the Bhāratas to Janamejaya. Sūta was present and overheard it so well that he could tell it again to Śaunaka and other Rishis who had gathered for a sacrifice lasting one thousand years. For the description of the war itself, it is Sanjaya, the charioteer of blind king Dhritarāshtra, who is supposed to have acted as a *sūta* (bard) and recited the story to his master. For this service, Vyāsa bestowed upon him the boon of special far-reaching vision.

During the last 150 years of research on the BG, no more precise information has been added to this view and the problem of authorship remains linked to the question of structure and composition.

Some scholars state that the greatness of the BG requires anonymity of authorship<sup>2</sup>; while others see the impersonal author as the representative of a whole people:

"It is not so much the construction of an individual thinker with a bias for eclecticism, as the work of a genius who endeavoured, out of the very depths of his own being, to give expression to the potentialities of the whole Indian soul."<sup>3</sup>

In 1825, lecturing in Berlin, Baron von Humboldt formulated the question of unique authorship:

"Those who are expert in the investigation of the ancient works of any nation will naturally ask: is the whole poem in question to be ascribed to one poet, to one age, nay even, to one system? and if this be the case, has it been composed with the intention of forming a whole, or has it been compiled, either by the author, or at some later period, from a number of separate lectures?"<sup>4</sup>

Von Humboldt's own view is that only BG chapters 1-11 (+ch. 18.63-78) are original, though they too suffered interpolations. Even then,

2. See S. F. MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI, (BG, Paris, 1922, Preface), who compares the BG with the devotional medieval book in Germany-Flanders, 'The Imitation of Christ', which also remained anonymous.
3. G. FEUERSTEIN, *Introduction to the BG*, London, 1974, p. 47.
4. W. VON HUMBOLDT, 'Essay on the Episode of the MBh, known by the name of the BG', translated by G. WEIGLE and published in J. GARRETT, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 146.



there remain contradictory statements in the poem. They can, however, be reconciled with the idea of single authorship, because:

"It is a sage, speaking out of the fulness and inspiration of his knowledge and of his feeling, not a philosopher trained in a school, classifying his material in accordance with a definite method, and arriving at the last principles of his doctrine by a skilful chain-work of ideas."<sup>5</sup>

Dahlmann (1889) still attributes the composition of the whole epic — and the BG — to a single poetic genius<sup>6</sup>.

## 2.2.b. The historicity of the MBh war

An easy solution to the problem of the historicity of the MBh is to brush it aside, as it is irrelevant to the composition of the Gītā:

"It is irrelevant whether or not this combat, as related in the MBh, is ascribed only partial historical reality, and whether or not the Gita was actually revealed by a god-hero named Krishna to a prince Arjuna. The Gita's unequivocal association with a crisis situation is all that matters, and exactly because of this the gospel of Krishna is destined to be of relevance today."<sup>7</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi too bypasses the historical problem in order to focus on the ethical meaning for today:

"Even in 1888-89, when I first became acquainted with the Gita, I felt that it was not a historical work, but that under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the heart of mankind, and that physical warfare was brought in merely to make the description of the internal duel more alluring... A study of the MBh gave it added confirmation. I do not regard the MBh as a historical work in the accepted sense... The persons therein described may be historical, but the author of the MBh has used them merely to drive home his religious theme."<sup>8</sup>

Another approach — the traditional one — dates the battle about 1,500 years before the historical arrival in India of the Indo-Aryans. The day of the redaction of the Gītā — but not the year — is fixed with certainty:

"It is computed that Mokshadā Ekādaśī — the 11th day of Mārga-śīrsha, which is auspicious to those seeking spiritual realization —

5. *Ibidem*, quoted in M. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, Delhi (repr.), 1977, vol. I, p. 435.

6. J. DAHLMANN, *Das MBh, Epos und Rechtsbuch*, Berlin, 1895; also *Genesis des MBh*, Berlin, 1889.

7. G. FEUERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

8. *Young India*, 6th Aug. 1931.

was the day when Śrī Krishna began to deliver on the field of duty His Sermon to the mentally confused Arjuna. Therefore, that day is regarded as the birth-day of the Gita."<sup>9</sup>

C. V. Vaidya<sup>10</sup> holds that the MBh fight commenced in Dec. 3102 B.C., and that the BG was, therefore, preached on the morning of the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the Mārgaśīrsha month, establishing that day as Gītā-Jayantī. The 'original' Gītā must have been composed very soon by Vyāsa on the basis of Śrī Krishna's sermon, in about 3100 B.C.! Others suggest an even earlier date, because astral calculations for Bhīshma's death give the year 3137 B.C. and 3102 would rather coincide with Krishna's death, the beginning of Kali Yuga !

S. B. Roy argues a date of around 1424 B.C. for the great Kurukshetra Battle:

"Kurukshetra battle was a momentous event — a watershed in Indian history. It saw the end of the Vedic age proper, and the emergence of the Puranic age. The great battle can thus be also looked upon as the final struggle after which the Indian spirit and the Vedic spirit were fused in a great fire, and the fire of unified India emerged."<sup>11</sup>

Roy designates the period after the battle as A.K. (After Kurukshetra) rather than as 'B.C.-A.D.', and proposes the following layers in the composition of the Mahābhārata: 3 A.K., the Jaya-text (or tale of victory), spoken by Vyāsa to Ganesha, about 8,800 verses; 34 A.K., the Bhārata-text of 24,000 verses, as retold faithfully by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya; 108 A.K., the Mahābhārata-text of 100,000 verses, as recited in the conference of sages, and in particular by Ugrasrava to Śaunaka. Then, up to 1100 A.K. (=324 B.C.) authorized additions as well as interpolations were made.

S. P. Gupta and K. S. Ramachandran summarize recent opinion as follows:

"The MBh war is a reality and not a myth... Astronomical calculations favour 15th century B.C. as the date of the war, while the Puranic data place it in the 10-9th century B.C. Archaeological evidence points towards the latter... These facets of history, archaeology, art, epigraphy and astronomy collectively support the

9. Article of Miss Sofia WARDIA (publ. in *Kalyāna-Kalpataru*, Gita-number 1935), quoted in (1936) Engl. ed. of Tilak's *Gītā Rahasya*, vol. 2, p. XL.

10. Quoted *ibidem*, p. XXXVII. The fixing of the month Mārgaśīrsha comes from BG 10.35.

11. S. B. ROY, *Date of MBh Battle*, 1976, p. 204.



internal evidence of the text, that the MBh as we have it today had grown in stages."<sup>12</sup>

Attempts have been made to demythologize the individual heroes of the story by e.g. taking the five Pandava-brothers as eponyms for five Śaka-tribes, who entered India from the 9th century B.C., while the Kuru-tribes were fighting among themselves and had already started telling tales of their heroic exploits<sup>13</sup>. Others point to Krishna as a leader of a branch of the ancient Vedic tribe of the Yādavas, but at the same time question the meaning first of his symbolic (?) name as 'the one who draws the devotees unto Him', or as 'the black one' (in contrast with Arjuna, 'the bright one'). See e.g. Rigveda 6.9.1 *ahas ca krishnam ahar arjunam ca*, the dark day and the bright day, the complementary pair of any natural day.

According to the MBh, Arjuna-Pāndava is 'Nara', whereas Krishna-Vāsudeva is 'Nārāyana'. M. Piantelli refers to the Gītā as Vāsudevārjuna's dialogue, and cannot avoid speculating on the philological-mythological origin of the pair of (tempest?) warriors compared to the Roman heroes Romulus and Remus. He calls the name Remus a homology of Rāma<sup>14</sup>.

Critics also question the meaning of Krishna's mythic (?) name as *avatāra* of Vāsudeva (heaven) and Devakī (earth).

Because of the jumble of opinions about dating the original BG, it is misleading or presumptuous simply to relate the song to the concrete historical setting of the battle-scene; at the same time it should not be taken out of the historical context altogether into the realm of speculation. This takes us to the question of the composition of the MBh.

### 2.2.c. The composition of the Mahābhārata

Just as there are 18 Mahāpurāṇas and 18 chapters in the BG, so too the Mahābhārata has 18 chapters. Scholars now generally accept that this final MBh grew over a long stretch of time, running between 400 B.C. and 400 A.D.<sup>15</sup>. "It is proved by literary and inscriptional evidence, that already about 500 A.D. the MBh was no longer an actual epic, but a

12. S. P. GUPTA and K. S. RAMACHANDRAN, eds., *MBh. Myth and Reality. Different Views*, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1976, pp. 254f. Also Prof. Brajavāsi Lāla holds the historicity of some battle about 9th c. B.C. (Śākshātkāra-interview in 'Mahābhāratakālina samskriti' in *Ājakala*, March 1978, pp. 24-28-31).

13. See BUDDHAPRAKĀŚA, 'MBh. Eka aitihāsika adhyayana', in *Nāgarīpracārini Patrikā*, 62 (1951), No. 4, 267-92.

14. Additional Notes in his Italian tr. of A.-M. Esnoul, *La BG*, Milan, 1976, p. 190.

15. M. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 475, 465.

sacred text-book and religious discourse, and was, on the whole, not essentially different, in extent and contents, from the work as we have it at present.”<sup>16</sup>

Within the time-limits of the 4th c. B.C. and 4th c. A.D. for the composition of the MBh, the BG features as an insertion between the extreme limits of the 2nd c. B.C. and the 2nd c. A.D. According to Winternitz the doctrine of *bhakti* in conjunction with *nishkāmayoga* could already have been formulated in the 2nd c. B.C. “It is perhaps not too bold to assume that the old BG was written about this time as an Upanishad of the Bhāgavatas”. . . . “Most likely it was already in the early centuries A.D. that it received its present form at the hands of orthodox Brahmins”<sup>17</sup>.

The thesis is now generally accepted that the MBh began its existence as an epic narrative which gradually grew to an enormous composition of 100,000 *ślokas*.

Through a computer analysis, Smith discovered several growth-rings in the MBh, on the basis of the apparent use of different verse-types<sup>18</sup>.

J. A. B. Van Buitenen sees in the MBh “not one opus, but a liturgy of ‘opera’! Then we can say that 400 B.C. was the founding date of that liturgy, and that A.D. 400 was the approximate date after which no more substantial additions were made to the text.”<sup>19</sup> The central story was a nucleus which proliferated to an extreme degree through accretion of secondary materials and further elaborations. The BG episode would belong to the third perimeter of the Jaya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata evolution<sup>20</sup>. It may also be pointed out that verse 9.26 of the Gītā is quoted in the Grihya-Sūtras<sup>21</sup>.

#### 2.2.d. Multiple authorship of the Gītā

The idea of multiple authorship is suggested partly by the fact that Krishna at times speaks in the first person (chapters 7 to 12, second part of ch. 18) and sometimes in the third person. The diversity in style and

16. *Ibidem*, p. 463.

17. *Ibidem*, p. 438.

18. M. C. SMITH, ‘The MBh’s core’, in *JAOS*, 95 (1975), 479-82. Incidentally, a laser touch-reader has recently been developed in USA, enabling Ingalls to feed the complete text of the critical edition of the MBh into the computer.

19. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, *The MBh*, vol. 1: The Book of the Beginning, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1973, p. XXV.

20. *Ibidem*, p. XXII.

21. J. GONDA, *The ritual Sūtras*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 589.



concepts too confirms this impression, with the final conclusion (of Khair) "that the Gita was written by three different authors, during three consecutive periods"<sup>22</sup>.

In the following quotation from Khair about the three-author theory, we have added between brackets the verse numbers:

"The *first* author composed some portions of the existing first six chapters of the poem [1.20-37, 45-47; 2.10-13, 18-30, 39, 47-52; 3.1-16, 19, 26-29, 33-34, 42; 4.16-19, 23-33, 37-42; 5.1-2, 4-6, 8-17; 6.1-6, 10-12, 18-28, 46].

"The *second* author added six more chapters of his own — they form portions of the present 8th [8-10, 17-20, 22-28], 13th [1, 3-6, 19-21, 23-26, 29-30, 33-34], 14th [5-18, 20], 15th [1-5], 17th [2-4, 7-28] and 18th [1-40, 49-53] chapter.

"The *third* author recast the whole poem by adding his own verses to the chapters of the first [viz. the remaining verses of chapters 1-6] and second [viz. the remaining verses of chs. 8, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18] poets, composed six entirely new chapters [chs. 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 16], inserted them in the middle of the poem, and shifted the chapters of the second author to the third sextet...

"The original, *first* Gita was composed some time before the 6th c. B.C., the *second* after about a century, and the *third* by about the 3rd c. B.C. The *first* author propounded the theory of Yoga and Karman, and refuted the samnyāsa of non-action principle of the contemporary Sāṅkhya philosophy. The *second* author added the practical details of Karma-yoga and supplemented the poem by the contemporary Sāṅkhya metaphysics and cosmology. The *third* author brought Karma-yoga within the understanding of the common people, by associating it with devotional theism based on the worship of Vāsudeva-Krishna. This is the guru of the later Bhāgavata-Dharma. He also tried to integrate the diverse forms of worship and religious practices..."<sup>23</sup>

Khair further remarks: "The *first* author strongly emphasizes Karma-Yoga, the *second* one introduces all the details of Sāṅkhya knowledge, and the *third* modifies that knowledge on Vedantic lines and powerfully advocates Bhakti towards a personal God. All three advocate the Dhyāna-Marga for the ultimate realization of God"<sup>24</sup> and "The comparative contributions of the three authors of the Vulgate of 700 verses are 126, 119 and 455. In terms of percentages, the first poet contributed 18 per cent, the second 17 per cent and the third 65 per cent."<sup>25</sup>

22. G. S. KHAIR, *Quest for the original Gita*, Bombay, 1969, p. 35.

23. *Ibidem*, p. XIII.

24. *Ibidem*, p. 166.

25. *Ibidem*, p. 137.

The 'three authors' of Khair seem to correspond to the three 'stages' of the BG, roughly covering the topics of *karma* (chapters 1-6), *jñāna* (7-12), and *bhakti* (13-18). According to Khair, we find in chapters 1-6 the 126 verses of the first author, and in addition 154 verses of the third author; in chapters 7-12 we find the main contribution of the third author, viz. 195 verses (plus 14 verses of the second author); finally, in chapters 13-18 we find 105 verses of the (chronologically) second author, (plus again 106 verses of the third author).

Consequently, only the third author has verses in all three sextets (154+195+106). In Khair's three-colour-print publication the distinction between the authors appears clearly in the text: red for the first author, blue for the second and black for the third (and main) author.

Khair concludes:

"The first author was confronted with the conflict between life and renunciation. He evoked a new synthetic philosophy of Yoga which has influenced the Indian mind for centuries. The second author supplied practical guidance to action and also supplemented the poem with metaphysics, cosmology and theology. Finally came the third philosopher, who was confronted with the problem of integrating and unifying a plethora of religious practices and forms of worship. He discovered a solution which has moulded the spiritual life of the elite and the common people over several centuries."<sup>26</sup>

M. Jezic<sup>27</sup> is sympathetic towards Khair's conclusions; but he gives greater importance to repetitions, particularly "duplication repetitions", which do not develop the subject any further and merely add new connotations. There is a clear repetition of BG 2.37 तस्माद्-उत्तिष्ठ ... युद्धाय in 2.38 ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व and in 4.42 तस्माद् ... उत्तिष्ठ. The epic episode of BG 1; 2.1-4, 9-10, 31-37 (continued in Bhishmaparvan 41.1) has been beautified by a hymnic poem (11.14-50 and also 2.5-8), to which a first didactic (2.11-30, 38) and yogic (2.39 ... 4.41, 42) layer was added. From BG 5.1 (repeating 4.41) more didactic and yogic layers were added together with glosses and recapitulations. Last of all came the extensive bhakti layer (e.g. 11.52-58).

Other critics see in the first sextet mainly Karmayoga with a description of the Karmayogī in 2.54-72, in the second sextet Bhaktiyoga with a description of the Bhaktiyogī in 12.13-20, and in the third sextet Jñānayoga with the Jñānayogī's description in 13.7-12 and 14.22-26. But

26. G. S. KHAIR, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

27. M. JEZIC, 'The First Yoga layer in the BG', in *Sternbach Felicitation Vol.* (Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad), Lucknow, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 545-57 (continuing a paper at the 4th World Sanskrit Conference, Weimar, 1979).



Madhusūdana Śarma in his *Vijnānabhāṣyam* (1936) counts 280 verses in chs. 1-6 (Jñānayoga), 209 verses in chs. 7-12 (Bhaktiyoga); and 211 verses in chs. 13-18 (Karmayoga). Thematic difference, however, does not mean multiplicity of authorship.

These hypotheses can perhaps be helpful to the translator who likes to adapt his terminology depending on the main accent in a particular context (*karma*, *jñāna* or *bhakti*). Such adaptation can increase the dynamism of his translation.

Yardi applied statistical methods to the BG, to estimate the likelihood of multiple authorship, and came to the following conclusion:

“The above analysis would support the view that the Gita was composed with a view to bring about a broad synthesis of the schools of philosophical thought known at that time to project Krishna-Vāsudeva, until then perhaps a Sectarian God, as the Supreme God... one could almost say without any exaggeration that the BG was the first ‘ecumenical’ effort to bring the different Hindu theological systems under one banner, the banner of Krishna-Vāsudeva. The tragedy of Hindu religious and philosophical thought is that this syncretic effort was lost sight of, and its illustrious commentators vied with one another to establish that each of the different points of view mentioned in the Gita was its sole message.”<sup>28</sup>

## 2.2.e. The composition of the BG: different opinions

Quite opposing hypotheses have been put forward with regard to the original composition and structure of the BG.

In 1826 von Humboldt drew the attention to the clear change after chapter eleven and suggested that the last seven chapters may be of a later date<sup>1</sup>. While Telang (1882) pointed out some apparent incongruities in the text<sup>2</sup>, Sørensen (1883) excluded the complete BG from his reconstruction of the MBh<sup>3</sup>. It was the hypothesis of Holtzmann (1895) that the pantheistic sections of the BG belong to the most ancient

28. M. R. YARDI, ‘Theories of multiple authorship of the BG’ in *Ann. BORI*, 58-59 (1977-8), 1052f.

See also P. C. DIVANJI, ‘Was there an original Gita?’, in *Prof. D. V. Potdar 61st Birthday Com. Vol.*, ed. by S. N. SEN, Poona, 1950, 127-53. Divanji maintains that the BG was an established text by the 2nd c. B.C.

1. W. VON HUMBOLDT, *Ueber die unter dem Namen BG bekannte Episode des MBh*, Berlin, 1826, pp. 51-54.

2. K. TELANG, *The BG*, Oxford (1882), 2nd ed., 1908.

3. S. SØRENSEN, *On MBh stiling i den indiske literatur*, Copenhagen, 1883, p. 187.

redaction of the MBh<sup>4</sup>. Garbe (1905) on the other hand takes theism for granted and marks as an interpolation everything that goes against it, thus leaving out 170 of the 700 verses<sup>5</sup>. Oldenberg rejects the last six chapters of the BG, calling the poetic sections more original than the doctrinal ones<sup>6</sup>. Otto (1934) keeps only the 133 stanzas with mystical content, rejecting as not original all doctrinal passages<sup>7</sup>. According to Belvalkar, this 'miscarriage of attempted stratification of the Gita' would result in attributing the text to no less than 18 authors.

De Smet remarks that

"The original creator, or at least the chief author, of the Gita appears to have been a Bhargava Brahmin, most likely from the region of Mathura. The work proves him a genius whether as a poet, a thinker, or a religious man. Deeply attached to his Brahmanic past, he confronted a present crossed by the rivalry of competing trends and composed the Gita in a spirit of reconciliation and wise discrimination, blending with consummate intelligence the valuable elements of at least nine traditions..."<sup>8</sup>

Instead of cutting up the BG into contradicting philosophies, Bhandarkar<sup>9</sup> interprets the whole poem through devotionism, a super-theistic approach found in Bhāgavatism or Prapattism. There is no point in asking whether Krishna acts only in human guise as in the greater part of the MBh, or as an incarnation of the deity in human form, or as a full-fledged monotheistic deity, or as an Upanishadic Absolute... As in the Nārāyaṇīya Dharma, the Lord wants only unconditional surrender of bhakti.

The Buddhist Lin Yutang calls "foolish and ridiculous" all attempts by (Western) scholars to separate different layers of the BG:

"The work was probably written in the second century before the Christian era, although no approximate date can be assigned.

4. A. HOLTZMANN, *Das MBh und seine Teile*, (Kiel, 1895), Osnabrück, 1971, pp. 154-64. A similar view was held by E. W. HOPKINS, *The Religions of India*, (Boston, 1885), Delhi, 1970, p. 389.
5. R. GARBE, *Die BG*, Leipzig, 1905.
6. H. OLDENBERG, *Das MBh, seine Entstehung sein Inhalt, seine Form*, Göttingen, 1927, pp. 70-76. See also L. RENOU and J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris, 1947, pp. 395-96.
7. R. OTTO, *Die Urgestalt der BG*, Tübingen, 1934; Otto's Original Gita contains ch. 1; 2.1-13, 20, 22, 29-37; 10.1-8; 11.1-6, 8-12, 14, 17, 19-36, 41-51; 18, 58-61, 66, 72, 73.
8. R. V. DE SMET, 'Gita in Time and Beyond Time', in KULKARNI, ed., *The BG and the Bible*, Delhi, 1972, pp. 1-2.
9. See R. D. RANADE, *BG as a Philosophy of God-realization*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 72ff.

10. LIN

below

11. S. N.



So important did it become to the Hindu religious thought that every system had to square itself with the teachings of the Lord's Song. There are strands of pantheism, monotheism, theism and deism in it. Whether it was added to by successive writers is less important than the fact that these teachings were, and still are, accepted by the Hindu people as the ultimate embodiment of religious wisdom . . .

"It is extremely important that such a testimony of the Hindu religious spirit should not be translated by a scholar of Sanskrit, but by a Hindu follower who is at home with its language and at one with the spirit of its teachings, and who knows what the different verses mean, directly and simply, to the Indian people."<sup>10</sup>

All these hypotheses have their importance for the study of the history of religion and of philosophy. They may not, in our opinion, affect the translator in such a way that he would decide to translate only any so-called original *Gītā*, leaving aside sections of the text as interpolations. After all, all diminishing or splitting up of the text is only arbitrary and conjectural, diametrically opposed to the Indian tradition which always attempted a synthetic integration of different views. Even if the translator considers the possible existence of different layers in the text, interpreting terms accordingly, he would be wrong if he did not treat the text as a whole, handed down to us for more than two millennia.

## 2.2.f. The *Gītā* and Buddhism

The questions of whether the *Gītā* was pre-Buddhistic and whether it was influenced by it (or vice versa) remain debated issues. They are relevant for the present study only in so far as the relationship with Buddhism might be taken into account for a translation into a language of a different culture.

If the author(s) of the *Gītā* were familiar with the Buddhist philosophy and terminology, the translator has to consider the language of the *Gītā* against that background too.

Dasgupta discusses the meaning of *nirvāṇa*:

"The *Gita* seems to be quite unacquainted with the Buddhistic sense of the word. I have therefore ventured to translate the word *nirvāṇa* as 'bliss of self-effacement'. The word is primarily used in the sense of 'extinguishing a light', and this directly leads to the Buddhistic sense . . . But the word *nirvāṇa* is also used from very early times in the sense of 'relief from sufferings' and 'satisfaction'."<sup>11</sup>

10. LIN YUTANG, ed., *The Wisdom of India*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 59-62. See also below, 4.1, note 1.

11. S. N. DASGUPTA, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 2, (1932), 1965, p. 450.

It has been suggested, on the other hand, that Buddhists adapted the Gītā to suit their own philosophy. In the preface to Lamotte's work<sup>12</sup> L. de la Vallée Poussin refers to Mahāyāna Buddhist texts like the *Suklavidarśana*, wondering whether the Buddhists had their own Gītā. No doubt, the occurrence of similar expressions and concepts does not necessarily mean mutual influence. Kilbe has argued that the Gītā is not pre-Buddhist<sup>13</sup>. The author(s) of the Gītā could have known the exposition of Vepacitti or Forbearance (found in the *Samyutta Nikāya*) when composing the first part of chapter 2. However, placing the BG in the post-Buddhist era does not necessarily mean that literal borrowings have been made from Buddhism. In her translation of the BG, S. Shastri frequently points to the Buddhist background:

"The book bears traces of a post-Buddhistic age . . . we find much more similarity to Buddhism than anything else . . . The author (whom she suggests to be of a Buddhist in origin or at least a Hindu influenced by Buddhism) must have lived nearer to the age of the Puranas, the period when Buddhism was gradually ebbing away from the land of its birth."<sup>14</sup>

She further discusses the integration of divergent influences:

"In Buddhism action and service held supreme place, in the Upanishads, knowledge of God was supreme; here both are combined in the ideal of *Bhaktiyoga* or Devotion. Here in the 12th chapter, highest place is given to *Bhakta* or Devotee in preference to *Jnāni*, seeker of knowledge . . . Here is the final and crowning message of the book. The main line of argument seems to close here. The subsequent chapters do not form an integral part of the treatise. They look like a distinct dissertation on the Sāṅkhya philosophy. They are probably later additions from a different source."<sup>15</sup>

Upādhyāya argues<sup>16</sup> that the BG counteracts the stress on reincarnation and the atheistic trend in Buddhist thought. Besides the influences of early Buddhism and the Upanishads, the primary source of the BG

12. *Notes sur la BG*, p. XIII.

13. M. V. KILBE, 'An internal evidence as regards the age of the BG', in *Ann. BORI*, 24 (1943), 99-100.

14. S. R. SHASTRI, *The BG*, New York, 1959, pp. 52, 68, 71.

15. *Ibidem*, p. 57.

See also R. C. ZAEHNER, *Concordant Discord*, p. 121: "The author of the BG was certainly familiar with the Upanishads, particularly the *kathā* and *śvetāśvatara*, but the background he takes for granted is partly Sāṅkhya-Yoga and partly Buddhist."

16. K. N. UPĀDHYĀYA, *Early Buddhism and the BG*, 1971. See also, for the same argument, C. PAPALI, *Hinduism. Religion and Philosophy*, Alwaye, 1977.



would be the Bhāgavata (or Narāyaṇīya or Ekāntika) Dharma of the period<sup>17</sup>.

Regarding the date of the BG Chakravarti states that the historical Krishna lived about 1,400 B.C. and that the BG was already acknowledged as an authoritative text by the Buddhist philosopher Āśvaghoṣa. This puts the first c. B.C. as 'its lower limit'<sup>18</sup>.

### 2.3. The method of translation

The science of transcultural translation developed mainly as a result of efforts of translators of the Bible, long before the great secular classics in the West were rendered in different languages<sup>1</sup>. Scriptural translation, especially from Hebrew poetry, offers particular difficulties which are not very different from those encountered in the Sanskrit texts.

"Hebrew requires far fewer separate words than does English . . . And this means that a faithful English translation of a Hebrew text will inevitably be more 'wordy' than the original and will, moreover, tend to carry more accented syllables . . . The translator repeatedly finds himself put to it to catch the brevity and the accentual rhythm of the lines without resorting to an English so terse as to be cryptic."<sup>2</sup>

The translator has a double task. First, he must grasp the precise meaning of the words in their original language, and then bring that meaning into the recipient language with equal precision. At the

17. The question of the influence of the Bhāgavata religious trend on the BG has been discussed at length by several scholars: L. VON SCHROEDER, *BG. Des Erhabenen Sang*, Düsseldorf, 1959, pp. 11ff; G. FEUERSTEIN, *Introduction to the BG*, p. 72; A. HOLTZMANN, *Das MBh und seine Teile*, Kiel, 1892-95, vol. 2, pp. 153ff.

For the relation between the BG and Megasthenes' account, see S. K. DIKSHIT, 'Was the BG known to Megasthenes?' in *Ann. BORI*, 30 (1949), 314; A. DAHLQUIST, *Megasthenes and the Indian Religion*, Mot. Ban., Delhi, 1977, who sees references to early Krishnaism; P. C. DIVANJI, 'Probable Sources of the BG', in *13th All India Oriental Conf.*, 1946, pp. 299-309.

18. A. C. CHAKRAVARTI, *The Story of Krishna in Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1976, p. 117.

1. For a good description of these attempts, see E. NIDA, *Towards a Science of Translating*, (with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible Translation), Brill, Leiden, 1964.

Also G. MOUNIN, *Linguistique et Traduction*, Dessart, Brussels, 1976; G. STEINER, *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation*, OUP, London, 1975.

For a scholarly work on translation techniques for Hindi, see B. TIVARI, *Anuvāda Vijnāna*, Delhi, (1972), 1976, and *Kāvyaṇuvāda kī samasyāem. Sāhitya kā anuvāda*, Delhi, 1980.

2. J. BRIGHT, *Jeremiah*, The Anchor Bible, 21, 2nd ed., New York, 1974, p. cxxxvi,

same time, he must preserve the literary quality of the original. He must ensure that what was communicated to readers of the original is also communicated to readers of the recipient language, without loss of intellectual understanding, spiritual perception or aesthetic appreciation. To this two-fold task corresponds a double procedure. The translator can try to reproduce each word, each idiom, each turn of phrase in the original text as literally as possible in the recipient language. Such 'word-for-word' translation protects the recipient text from subjective interpretation. But in spite of its verbal accuracy, this procedure will rather obscure the sense of the original (to say nothing of the literary quality) and thus block communication. On the other hand, the translator can aim at greater clarity through a 'sense-for-sense' translation; but this approach could leave him open to criticism for subjective interpretation.

### 2.3.a. The 'Dynamic Equivalence' translation

Basically, there are two methods to translate a Scripture. The *first* approach, of word-to-word translation, is the traditional method of past Bible translation<sup>3</sup>.

The translator assumes that all languages are sufficiently alike in form and consequently he translates directly from one language to the other. This direct transfer neglects the fact that languages do not have the same 'shape'. No single word in any language corresponds completely in meaning with any word in another language. Also, the sentence structure of one language differs from that of another language. Idioms and figures of speech must often be changed when being translated. Pronouns in the source language must sometimes be replaced by nouns, in order to make clear who is who. Hence, this kind of Formal Equivalence (FE) is not a satisfactory method.

The *second* approach, of Dynamic Equivalence (DE), pays due attention to the meaning of the original, and attempts to render that meaning faithfully without necessarily adhering to the form.

Languages may lie apart semantically, but they meet on the deeply human level of basic structures. The ordinary language of communication cannot help using its own peculiar and complex formulations, but these contain some basic 'kernel' expressions. The scientific method of translation through indirect transfer consists of decomposing the original

3. See B. NEWMAN, 'The old and the new way', in *The Bible Translation*, 28 (1977), No. 2, 201-7.



language into the simplest utterances. After matching these kernel sentences with equivalent kernel sentences in the receptor language, a process of recomposition follows. The message communicated through the basic structures is now expressed in the most dynamic way possible at the required level of interpersonal communication. The message is not reproduced as a string of utterances, but with all the dynamic force of the original.

In order to produce an equivalent message it is often necessary to depart from the form of the source language. Consequently, this way of translating is fully aimed at conveying the message: "A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message."<sup>4</sup>

In this way, a transcultural transference is possible. A dynamic equivalence translation presents the closest possible natural equivalent to the source-language message. Instead of establishing a direct relationship through formal correspondence at the surface structure, the translator descends first to the underlying structure. The source form-and-meaning-composite is analysed. It is decomposed into basic concepts and kernel structures within the source language. Then the equivalent meaning is given all attention and equivalent kernel forms are sought in the receptor language. Finally, these are re-composed in the receptor language at the desired surface level within the cultural world into which one intends to move. Yet, the translator should not radically depart from the form occurring in the source-text, by introducing his own opinions and altering the message. This would be paraphrasing, not translating, although some adjustments may be permitted. When translating from an ancient written document one may even exceptionally omit certain expressions, e.g. over-repetitious wording which may distract the modern reader. Additions are more common: e.g. filling out elliptical expressions, making explicit what is implicit, splitting up succinct sentences using more generic terms or more descriptive phrases<sup>5</sup>.

If necessary, informative footnotes can be added to correct wrong impressions given to the reader due to cultural differences, or to clarify the historical background which was implicitly known to the original reader, living in the cultural context of the source-text.

4. E. NIDA, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

5. See J. LOEWEN, 'Form and Meaning in Translation', in *The Bible Translation*, 22 (1971), 169-74.

Nida strongly recommends the proposed dynamic equivalence translation, for the very reason of greater fidelity to the source meaning, which paradoxically a formal equivalence translation does not convey properly because of blind adherence to the source form.

"In practice FE translations tend to distort the message more than DE translations, since those persons who produce DE translations are in general more adept in translating, and in order to produce DE renderings they must perceive more fully and satisfactorily the meaning of the original text. For the most part a translator who produces DE renderings is quite aware of the degree of distortion, and because of greater conscious control of his work is able to judge more satisfactorily whether or not the results seem to be legitimate. On the other hand, a translator who produces strictly FE renderings is usually not conscious of the extent to which his seemingly 'faithful' translations actually involve serious distortions."<sup>6</sup>

Not everyone agrees with the trend of modern DE translators, who are more concerned with the message than with the original form in which it was expressed ages ago. As soon as one thinks the very form is an essential part of the original communication, then the whole exposition of a scientific translation with preference for dynamic communication in today's modern language of common man is again open to question. In their Translators' Preface, Svāmī Prabhavānanda and Christopher Isherwood write:

"Nowadays, it is becoming fashionable to translate the world's great books into some form of Basic English, or everyday speech. The Gita does not easily lend itself to such treatment. The Sanskrit in which it is written differs radically from modern English. It is compressed and telegraphic. It abounds in exact philosophical and religious terms. Its frame of reference is a system of cosmology unfamiliar to western thought."<sup>7</sup>

Van Bruggen<sup>8</sup> does not approve of the Bible Societies' policy of liberating the word of the Bible for the world of today. He advocates return to blind loyalty to the text and faithfulness to the form. The translator, according to his view, is a mere servant of the original word; hence, the old King James' Version (KJV) is still to be preferred above all modern 'distortions'.

Nobody denies the value of a literal, formal equivalent translation in its own right, although it has to be admitted that even the KJV is full

6. E. NIDA, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

7. *The Song of God: BG*, 1944, p. 9.

8. J. VAN BRUGGEN, *The Future of the Bible*, New York, 1978.



of interpretations and inconsistencies. In fact, any good translation aims first and foremost at transferring the true meaning of the original text, and the Bible Societies earnestly stress the primacy of the original message in its completeness.

### 2.3.b. The Indian tradition and setting

It would appear that in the Indian tradition translators have been more concerned with the communication of the message rather than with the scrupulous preservation of the form. Because of cogent needs, DE has been adopted spontaneously. The diversity of languages in the country calls for a greater inter-communication through proper translation and cultural contacts, while the prevailing illiteracy increases the need of a spoken language as means of communication. There is also a common cultural and religious heritage which acts as a unifying factor, in spite of the differences. As a result, an illiterate villager in India may know more about the nation's great epics than the educated city-dweller. The essential message has been passed down by oral traditions, with all the fresh tunes of the living language.

For translation, modern Hindi uses the terms *anuvāda* and *bhāshāntara*, besides the archaic *ulthā* and (the Urdu) *tarjumā*. It appears that *bhāshāntara* stresses rather the external change of words, while the term *anuvāda* rather points at an internal change, where the translator speaks out again the original message from within.

Originally, in Sanskrit the term *anuvāda* was used for the repetition in different wording of an instruction, especially in sacrificial rites. In a *bhūtārthānuvāda* a mere restatement is given, e.g. *agnihotram juhōti* is rendered 'one should perform the Agnihotra sacrifice'. A *gunānuvāda* denotes a further specification, e.g. that the aforesaid sacrifice has to be performed 'with ghee'. A *stutyārthānuvāda* adds a praise, e.g. that the aforesaid sacrifice is to be performed 'in honour of such and such a deity'.

In other words, it is stressed in the Indian tradition that the same message has to be expressed in different terms. Translators do not hesitate to explicitly mention elements which in the original are implicitly understood. The minimum kind of *anuvāda* is the literal rendering, which replaces every word by another word (मक्षिका स्थाने मक्षिका, 'one fly for another fly'). Above this the *bhāvānuvāda* is preferred, when the original meaning is kept in a free personal reproduction. According to Ānandavardhana of Kashmir (9th c. A.D.) single words have not only a primary, literal meaning (*abidhā*) and occasionally a secondary, metaphorical meaning (*lakṣanā*), but also an additional, suggested meaning,

which he calls *dhvani*<sup>1</sup>. E.g. 'hamlet on the Ganges' evokes the impressions of peace, prayer, holiness associated with the sacred river. The Mimāṃsakas consider also the contextual presentation (*arthavāda*) of the author's statements; these can be consistent with the actual state of things (*anuvāda*), or inconsistent (*gunāvāda*) or neutral (*bhūtārthavāda*).

Besides the *bhāvānuvāda* we further have the *chāyānuvāda* or adaptation. Many translations of the MBh are in fact adaptations in the form of a recreation and not just a dry, condensed story. K. Subramaniam points out that "a literal translation is like the wrong side of a tapestry: the threads are all there, but the pattern is missing. It is so with this great epic. It is not possible to do full justice to it in a literal translation."<sup>2</sup> A striking example is the epithet Bharatarshabha for Arjuna, which literally means the 'Bull of the Bharata Race'.

Indian translators prefer to recreate rather than slavishly imitate, yet in case of a Scripture-translation they show a great respect for the exact meaning of the spiritual message. For this reason, Indian translators of the BG do not display the otherwise common freedom in translation. In his Avadhi version of the BG the poet-translator Bacchan relates how he had to restrain himself time and again from using his usual artistic creativity, because of the doctrinal implications of the text<sup>3</sup>.

It is, therefore, understandable that Sukthankar became very scrupulous about fidelity to the text when translating Tilak's *Gītā-Rahasya*:

"In translating, I have attempted to be as faithful to the text as possible, as I have thought that in case of a philosophical and technical book written by a genius like the late Lokamanya, it would be extremely wrong to take any liberty whatsoever with the text... Even an apparently insignificant word used by him has an immense modifying or limiting value, and the omission of even a small conjunction or the translation of an 'and' as an 'or', would considerably injure the sense intended to be conveyed by the author. I have, therefore, not changed the text at all, but only altered the garb or the medium of expression; for a translation is not translation, if it is not faithful.

"I have not even broken up long and involved sentences; for, though a sentence may be long and involved, each portion of it has a bearing and limiting value on the remaining portions of the sentence; and breaking up such a sentence into several small sentences, would

1. See A. AMALDAS, 'Dhvani' Theory in Sanskrit Poetics', in *Biblehashyam*, 5 (1979), 261-75.

2. K. SUBRAMANIAM, *MBh*, Bombay, 1965, p. vii.

3. H. RAYA 'Baccana', *Jana Gita*, Delhi, 1966, p. 12.



make it lose its cumulative force, and to that extent the meaning intended to be conveyed by the author would be disabled.”<sup>4</sup>

In Lal’s transcreation of the BG we find a healthy reaction against a too literal adherence to the Sanskrit original. Many translators, he says, ‘exotify’ their translation by trying to imitate the style of the classical Sanskrit, in order to give the reader the ‘feeling’ of the original. Choosing as an illustration verse 18.63 (*yathēcchasi tathā kuru*) Lal comments:

“ Literally this means: ‘that which you please, do’. In sensible English, ‘Do as you please’. Now, one can, if one has a profoundly complex mind interested in every shade of implied meaning, transform those three words into: ‘Under the circumstances, and in the light of all that I have been explaining to you so far, it is my advice that you should not discard your own free thinking but act in a manner befitting your human dignity’.

“ It is impossible to say that what is in that long and cumbersome sentence is not in Krishna’s three words. But it is not translation: it is elaboration.

“ Or, if you happened to be of a philosophical bent of mind, you could translate it as: ‘Use your free will in this critically moral situation, and act as your conscience dictates’. That too is, in its context, acceptable. But it has gone beyond translation and become interpretation-cum-adaptation.

“ Some interpretation cannot, of course, be left out, no matter how ‘objective’ the translator is. What Krishna is telling Arjuna is direct and lucid in the Sanskrit. Why elaborate or interpret? Won’t a simple ‘You are free to choose’ be more effective? That is exactly what Krishna says, and that is very likely what Arjuna understands.”<sup>5</sup>

4. B. S. SUKTHANKAR, ‘Translator’s Preface’, in L. TILAK, *Gītā-Rahasya*, 1st English tr., Poona, 1935-36, 1st vol., p. xxxv.

When criticized for his difficult and almost algebraical style, the translator wrote in his defense: “Notwithstanding the suggestion made in some of the reviews of Volume I of this translation, that a free rendering of the text would appeal more to the public, I have followed the standard rule of translation, namely of faithfulness to the text, with due regard to the idiom of the language into which the text is translated; because my aim has not been to give the public what they would like to have, but what they ought to, and are entitled to have”, *ibidem*, vol. 2, p. xlv.

5. P. LAL, ‘Sanskrit Classics and English Translation. A Note’, in *Visvabharati*, 41 (1975-76), 266-69.

See also L. RAY, e.a. ‘Problems of Translation’, in *Indian Lit.*, 15 (1972), No. 3, 28-65; D. WHITE, ‘Translation and Oriental Philosophy: an introductory Study’, in *Phil. East and West*, 6 (1956), 247-56.

### 2.3.c. Illustrating the theory of Dynamic Equivalence translation

An analysis of the translation of a few key-words may help to illustrate how extremely difficult it is to produce a dynamic equivalence translation. If he does not adhere to the form, the translator climbs up from the underlying kernel structures to find a proper dynamic equivalent at the surface level of the target language.

#### I. *Gītā*

Reviewing Edgerton's commentary, Belvalkar corrects the common misinterpretation of *gītā* as 'song': "There is no Sanskrit word like *gītā* (fem.) meaning a song. It is either *gīta* (neuter) or *gīti* (fem.). *Gītā* is the feminine of the adjective, and it means 'sung' or more accurately 'recited' or 'taught'. It qualifies *upanishad* understood with it. The full name of the poem is then *bhagavadgītā upanishad* and the root *gai* originally meant not 'singing' but 'solemn declaration.'"<sup>1</sup>

It has been argued that the term *gītā* in the sense of a song would also not fit the context of the Mahābhārata war, for just then the troops are confronting each other! Rather, the term is a respectful reference to the inspired instruction, given at the critical moment. In spite of the poetical beauty and the musical flow of some passages of the *Gītā*, its philosophical content prevails and would, therefore, suggest the meaning of *gītā* as a solemn instruction rather than a real song. Modi is also of the opinion that the meaning of the book is not to underscore the dramatic character of a sung dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna. The *itiśrī* of the *Gītā* means that it is a collection of a number of Upanishads or 'keys of doing action' and that these Upanishads have been sung by the Lord<sup>2</sup>.

Whatever the original intention of adding the title *gītā*, it should remind the translator that he is working on a piece of literature which was composed in verse form, and that the original recitation was meant to be

1. S. K. BELVALKAR, 'Review of Edgerton's BG', in *Ann. BORI*, 6 (1925), 109.
2. P. M. MODI, *Method of Interpreting the Gita*, in M. D. PARADKAR, *Studies in the Gita*, Gita Mandal, Bombay, 1970, pp. 59-66.

Gonda points out that the term *gītā* was already in the MBh associated with the names of legendary teachers who give counsels, for instance, on *dharma* and good government. For a list and discussion see U. C. BATTACHARJEE, 'Gītā literature and its relation with Brahnavidyā', in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, 2 (1926), 537...; J. GONDA, 'Mediaeval Religious Literature in Sanskrit', Wiesbaden, 1977, in *A History of Indian Literature*; see especially pp. 271-86: *Gītās*, *māhātmyas* and other religious literature,



listened to and not only to be read. The actual text does not indicate the special intonation in which it was dramatically recited. Thus, shades of meaning may escape us.

## II. *Dharma*

The very first word of the *Gītā* poses serious problems to the translator. *Dharma* "stands for religious observance, righteousness, justice, conformity to law, conformity to custom, obedience to the social order, sense of duty, etc. Thus it has religious and moral, as well as legal significance. This is one of the important reasons why it is impossible to translate the term *dharma* to any other non-Indian language."<sup>3</sup>

After discussing briefly how the word *dharma* passed through several transitions of meaning, Kane gives the following meaning of the term at the time of the *Dharmaśāstras*: "The privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life. It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation of the pupil contained in the *Taittiriya-Upanishad* (I:11) speak the truth, practise (your own) *dharma*, etc. It is in the same sense that the *Gita* uses the word *dharma* in the oft-quoted verse 'svadharme nidhanam śreyah'. The word is employed in this sense in the *dharmaśāstra* literature."<sup>4</sup>

Feuerstein explains *dharma* as a key concept of Krishna's ethical teaching, in a special appendix to his introduction to the BG: "It depends entirely on the context how this term should be translated . . . Two principal meanings of *dharma* can be made out. It stands for the universal harmony which is identical with man's essential being, it represents the 'ethical norm' by which this essential being is actualised . . . *Dharma* then appears as a particularisation on the human level of the supreme order

3. B. KUPPUSVAMY, 'A modern Review of Hindu Dharma', in *Journal of Dharma*, 1, (Nos. 1 and 2), (1975), 118 (-136). See also T. M. MANICKAM, 'Manu's vision of the Hindu dharma', in *ibidem*, pp. 101-7; and *Dharma acc. to Manu and Moses* (comparative study of Manusmriti and Pentateuch), Dharmaram Publ., Bangalore, 1977. Manickam sees the BG as the latest achievement in the literary productions on Dharma (hence after Manusmriti?). About the BG it may be said that it is the most beautiful synthesis on Dharma. It is the latest fruit of the literary maturity of the integral cultural evolution of the Aryan tradition. It presents a coherent metaphysical interpretation of the 'Rules of Conduct' as enunciated by Manu. So it may be considered as the completion of the Vedic tradition of the teaching on Dharma which evolved through the different stages, of *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*, especially Manusmriti.

4. P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, BORI, Poona, 1930, vol. 1, pp. 1-2,

prevailing in the universe . . . , *sva-dharma* is the channel through which man can reach his essential nature.”<sup>5</sup>

Starting his new translation of the Mahābhārata, Van Buitenen had to decide whether or not he would opt for a uniform rendering of the word *dharma* throughout the immense work. Being aware that the Mahābhārata terminology may reflect different stages in the evolution of the work, he chose one elastic term, which would be consistent enough to allow the social historian to recognize the original word. Since no perfect equivalence is possible, and only an approximation can be arrived at, Van Buitenen hoped that the best could be made of a bad job by choosing Law as host term for the problematic guest term *dharma*:

“For *dharma* my choice has been a capitalized Law, in the hope of evoking other instances like Judaic Law, not only because Law is approximate in its evocative connotations, but also because in practice it allows for syntactic variations: according to Law, by, under, for the sake of, on behalf of, with Law; and law-minded, law-spirited, law-abiding, law-like and even lawly — the last on the analogy of lovely. Obviously, therefore, the word Law will occur in odd and unidiomatic contexts. But what is the alternative rendering? One might adapt ancient Indian Law to the English context and freely dispense such meanings as order, justice, morality, righteousness, virtue, custom, ritual and so on. In that case a social historian or a historian of religion would lose completely track of the real scope of the concept of *dharma* because of my very helpfulness in providing Christian-European paraphrases.”<sup>6</sup>

### III. Yoga

This term occurs throughout the Gītā and is used in nearly all chapter-headings or in the colophon at the end of each chapter. Zaehner explains the word when commenting on verse 2.38:

“The root *yuj*, from which yoga is derived, is perhaps the keyword of the Gita. Here (v. 2.38) it is used in the non-religious part of the epic in a purely secular sense: get ready for battle. The basic meaning of the word is ‘unite’ . . . The noun *yoga*, then, means first ‘yoking’, then ‘preparation’. These are, however, only the primary meanings: there are many, many others. The Gita plays on all of these with extraordinary skill and this makes it almost impossible to convey the various nuances in translation. In the commentary, however, I will do my best to relate and co-ordinate the different meanings and uses of the root and its derivatives with what seems to me to be the basic doctrine of the Gita.”<sup>7</sup>

5. G. FEUERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

6. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, *The MBh*, vol. 1, 1973, p. xli.

7. R. C. ZAEHNER, *The BG*, Oxford (1969), 1972, p. 138.

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Eliade gives a theistic connotation to the term *yoga*: "If we consider the fact that the BG represents not only the highest point of all Indian spirituality but also a very broad attempt at a synthesis, in which all the 'paths' of salvation are validated and incorporated into Vishnuist devotion, the important place that Krishna of the Gita accords to yoga represents a real triumph for the yogic tradition."<sup>8</sup>

In one passage, Edgerton opts for the translation of *yoga* by 'discipline'<sup>9</sup> but adds that the term cannot always be rendered in the same way, for the following reasons: although the end intended in the Gītā is emancipation, the way it teaches is that of worldly action without interest in the fruits of one's action. Hence yoga is a strange kind of practical method, which abstains from any 'disciplined' action that would look for the greatest efficiency. The term *yoga* is also used for the Sāmkhya method, which elsewhere is called *jñāna-yoga* or 'discipline of knowledge'.

Quoting passages from the Gītā, Feuerstein leaves the original *yoga* untranslated, but tries to play on its meaning through English equivalent expressions, e.g. "He (whose) self is yoked in yoga" or "For those men who, reflecting on Me (with) undiverted (mind), love (Me) ever full-yoked, I hold out security in Yoga"<sup>10</sup>.

#### IV. Other examples

It is not advisable to make verbal consistency a strict rule, viz. that identical words in the source-text have to be rendered always by identical expressions. Shades of meaning vary according to the context: the same word in Sanskrit may have to be translated by several terms in English; and the same English word found in a good translation may even derive from different terms in Sanskrit (which abounds in synonyms).

Zaehner states: "I have not tried to render key Sanskrit words by one single English equivalent."<sup>11</sup> Sometimes a Sanskrit word is left untranslated or the original word is added between brackets. One

8. M. ELIADE, *Yoga. Immortality and Freedom*, 1958, p. 153.

9. F. EDGERTON, *Introduction to the BG*, Anchor Pr., London, 1974, p. 141.

"'Discipline', when otherwise undefined, means in the Gita frequently (and indeed usually) the 'discipline of action' (*karma-yoga*). The word *yoga* is unfortunately a very fluid one, used in a great variety of senses... It may mean simply 'method, means'. It also means 'exertion, diligence, zeal'. And especially it is used to describe a regular disciplined course of action leading to a definite end..." (p. 165).

10. G. FEUERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 and 145.

11. R. C. ZAEHNER, *Hindu Scriptures*, London, 1966, p. xxi.

example of Zaehner's procedure is BG 2:39 where *buddhi* is translated differently in the same verse: "This wisdom (*buddhi*) has (now) been revealed to you in theory; listen now to how it should be practised. If you are controlled by the soul (*buddhyāyukto*), you will put away the bondage that is inherent in (all) works."

Scholarly versions can permit these niceties, but how shall translators present literary versions for the larger public? Reviewing Zaehner's translation of the BG, J. Gonda<sup>12</sup> criticizes him for the rendering of *buddhi* by simply 'soul', as well as for the translation of other key-terms. He suggests to leave these terms untranslated, adding explicative notes, or to translate them more or less stereotypedly while defining, more or less vaguely, the English equivalents used; or again to find equivalents for the main aspects of the Indian term which may suit a definite context.

Roy explains his solution to the problem as follows: he does not want the original wording to spoil the English dynamic presentation of the message in verse. He noted that the Oxford Dictionary meanings of some fitting equivalents often correspond to the meaning of the original. E.g. 'trance' for *samādhi*, 'askesis' for *tapasyā*. How then should he render mystic terminology without spoiling the five-foot iambic verses? "A happy device occurred to me: to put in my translation of Sanskrit metres into English blank verse, the Sanskrit words in apposition, as for example: 'Gunas or modes of Nature, Prakriti', But *tamas* (inertia) stems from ignorance'; 'Abandoning all codes of conduct (*dharma*)'"<sup>13</sup>.

A. de Nicolas is equally perplexed at the problem, and he knows that any solution may have to be revised:

"There is no English equivalent of such Sanskrit words as *Prakriti*, *Purusha*, *ātman*, *dharma*, *guna*, *ahamkāra*, etc. To translate them as Nature, Spirit, Soul, duty, qualities, egotism, is to say nothing, for these words in English are loaded with different meanings derived from different Western contexts in no way equal to the BG's intentionality... Until such time as people understand what these words mean in their Hindu context, it is better to leave them in Sanskrit and explain their function. After all, not only scholars but a large part of the American population, educated on 'pop' are familiar with these words, use them and make sentences with them. The function of language is communication, not just translation. We need new words and new sentences to communicate new and different rationalities."<sup>14</sup>

12. J. GONDA, *Oriens*, (1974), p. 619.

13. D. P. ROY, *The BG, A Revelation*, Delhi, 1974, p. 72.

14. A. DE NICOLAS, *Avatara*, New York, 1976, p. 420.

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## 2.4. Conclusion

a. As translations of the *Gītā* give matter for a good case-study in transcultural translation, an exhaustive list of translations in all languages can be used for research in two directions: one, a comparison of translations (Indian and non-Indian) at a particular moment (e.g. 1900), with special attention given to inter-relationships; two, a study of translations into one particular language, whereby the scholar focuses his attention on the linguistic development of a language, using verses of the *Gītā* as samples.

b. The specific problems with regard to the translation of the *Gītā* arise mainly from the fact that it is a Scripture with an inspiring message, a mystical content and a literary presentation.

The translator should realize that this text has been and can be a source of inspiration and he should first 'experience' the message himself before he can translate it.

A mystical text is not only a communication about the experience of the mystic; it is mainly an invitation that stimulates; as a result the *Gītā* is not meant to be understood intellectually, but is to help one seek liberation. The correct approach to a mystic passage in the *Gītā* is not a mere linguistic analysis in terms of intellectual understanding.

The message of the *Gītā* is communicated in a particular literary form which has its own devices to increase the impact on the listener/reader. If a translator fails to discover and understand these devices, part of the message may be lost.

c. The problem of authorship and of the composite structure of the *Gītā* is relevant for the translator who must be aware of the diversity in terms used in the text; a familiarity with the composite structure may enable him to put certain terms in their proper historical and literary context. In the same way, can terms be interpreted according to the emphasis given to either *karma*, *bhakti* or *jnāna*.

The chronology of the composition of the *Gītā* is important for e.g. the relationship with Buddhism, its terminology and philosophy.

d. For a Dynamic Equivalence translation, all the factors mentioned above have to be taken into consideration.

A literal, 'word-for-word' translation (called Formal Equivalence translation) protects the recipient text in the target language from subjective interpretation; when producing such a translation, however, the translator ignores the fact that each language has a different shape and that the simple transposition of words may miss the inner dynamism inherent in the original text.

Fully aimed at conveying the message, the Dynamic Equivalence translation does not establish a direct relationship with the original text through formal correspondence at the surface structure; rather, the translator descends to the underlying structure in which the communication of the mystical message can be 'experienced'; this experience he communicates again on the surface-level of the target language and culture.

For an Indian text a DE translation is most appropriate, fitting well in the Indian tradition and setting.

The rendering of terms like *gītā*, *dharma*, etc., are not without problems and cannot be made in a strictly literal way.



## CHAPTER III

### COMMENTARIES ON THE GĪTĀ

#### 3.1. *The translator and commentaries*

Commentaries should not be ignored by the translator of the Gītā. When written in Sanskrit, they may give auxiliary clues to establish the critical text because often direct quotations are given. Also, they help to clarify the meaning of words since the ancient commentators may have had a better feeling with regard to the cultural setting and the original language of the Gītā<sup>1</sup>. Commentaries also presuppose an acquaintance with the art of translating or of paraphrasing, for no version exists without some interpretation. Moreover, most great commentaries have been translated into the vernaculars, thus influencing indirectly the translation of the Gītā.

However, the translator may not follow any particular commentary, for "it can seldom happen that a commentator is inspired with the same train of thought and arrangement of ideas as the author whose

1. "We can hardly hope to make ourselves so familiarly and vernacularly acquainted with their classic idiom as were the Brahmans who were trained in it from boyhood, and had given undivided labours of years to the task of mastering the intricacies of its grammar in their own text-books; nevertheless, for the purposes of a comparison of dialects, we command the Sanskrit far more thoroughly than they.

"All the methods and appliances of comparative grammar are at our disposal and we can bring to the task an enlightened penetration and a coolness and justness of judgment, to which neither the Hindus nor any other ancient people could make pretense.

"So, too, and yet more especially, the creeds and ceremonies of Brahmanic India were intimately known to them in a thousand particulars which are obscure to us; but this again is more than compensated by the prepossession with which their minds were filled in favour of those very institutions, and by their disposition to see in the antiquities of their country more of themselves and their belongings than really existed there. The historic faculty was too thoroughly wanting in the Hindu mind for Hindu scholars to be trustworthy students of the past."

W. D. WHITNEY, 'The Translation of the Veda', in *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, New York, 1874, p. 112. See also above, p. 69, n. 10.

sentiments he presumes to expound, especially in metaphysical works”<sup>2</sup>. In the very first English translation of the Gītā, Wilkins adds a note on verse 18.2 and a quotation from Śrīdhara’s Commentary (see below, p. 90) to illustrate that commentaries are sometimes more complicated than the original. The Orientalists of the 19th century were conscious of the dilemma between accepting an authoritative commentary on the basis of respect for the Indian tradition, or rejecting it on the basis of their own scholarly training and convictions.

It is not astonishing that a linguist like Max Müller, translating the Upanishads, was at a loss with the advice given by an Indian scholar who, however, may have given the correct answer with regard to the Gītā: “I have a great respect for native commentators, but I cannot carry my respect for these learned men so far as a native Indian scholar who, when I asked him which of two conflicting interpretations he held to be the right one, answered without any misgivings, that probably both were right, and that otherwise they would not have been mentioned by the ancient commentators.”<sup>3</sup>

In an Appendix to the present chapter, we give an exhaustive list of the main Sanskrit commentaries; this will not only impress the casual reader, but can also be useful for the translator who has to respect the views of both the ancient and recent commentators.

In the temple dedicated to the Gītā at Kurukshetra, the actual spot where the sacred dialogue (and the battle) are supposed to have taken place, “are enshrined as many as 300 commentaries on the Gītā, belonging to different periods of time”<sup>4</sup>. Chidbhavānanda remarks that the largest number of commentaries now available are on the Gītā, since it was easier for commentators to read their own particular philosophy into the Gītā than into the Upanishads or the Vedānta-darśana<sup>5</sup>. It is a known fact that an *ācārya* of a school was (is) supposed to expose his own ideas at the occasion of a commentary on the Scripture, especially the *prasthāna-trayī*, viz. the Gītā, the Upanishads and Bādarāyana’s Sūtras.

2. C. WILKINS, 1785; Notes quoted in J. GARRETT, *The BG or Dialogues of Krishna and Arjoon*, Bangalore, 1849, pp. 101-10.
3. F. MAX MÜLLER, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*, (1892), New Delhi, 1978, p. 111.
4. CHIDBHAVĀNANDA, *SBG*, Tapovanam, 1975, p. 44.
5. *Ibidem*, p. 42.

6. S.
7. J.
8. T.
9. I.



### 3.2. Different schools of commentators

The Gītā is a synthesis of many trends and divergent philosophies, and correspondingly the translator finds many different commentaries, each one stressing one particular *mārga* or interpretation of the message. Usually, the emphasis is put on either *jnāna*, or *bhakti* or *karma* and rarely on a global view, integrating the three trends into a unity like the *jnāna-bhakti-karmasamuccaya* commended by Belvalkar<sup>6</sup>. According to Pandya, the basic philosophy of the Gītā is about *karma*, i.e. action or duty: while admitting other paths, the Gītā basically teaches the way of right action; *karmayoga* is especially recommended because most men are qualified to live it<sup>7</sup>. According to Mainkar, on the other hand, the reliable interpreters of the Gītā are Rāmakantha, Ānandavardhana, Keśava and Rāmānuja. Also Madhusūdana and Venkatanātha, Jñāneśvara and Vāmana Pandita are said to be faithful to the real meaning of the Gītā in so far as they recognize the importance of *bhakti*, yet “no commentator has been absolutely faithful to the Gītā”<sup>8</sup>. Śankara is said to have overemphasized *jnāna*: “Śankara has laid quite an emphasis on knowledge, even at the cost of *karma* and *bhakti*; and in order to achieve this, he has understood additional words, reversed the sense of the verses and finally changed the spirit of the entire poem. He is not a reliable interpreter of the BG as the spirit of the poem is not faithfully reflected in his commentary.”<sup>9</sup>

Van Buitenen too opts for Rāmānuja as the truest commentator on the BG. Yet, he admits that the text allows many approaches. The traditional Indian interpreter is not like the modern scholar, who studies the text from the historical point of view and reconstructs the literary context ensuing into a particular interpretation of the text. The Indian interpreter looks at the text from the point of view of values. All texts have *aikārthya*, they are all the expression of the everlastingly present Truth. “It can happen that while we differ in the interpretation of almost every stanza of the Gītā we can agree with the general trend of Rāmānuja’s interpretations. For Rāmānuja’s *Bhāshya* does fully justice to the intentions of the author of the Gītā: to reconcile the barren absolute of monistic thought with the living God of devotion and to show a new and

6. See also *The Cultural Heritage of India*, The Institute of Culture of the Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta, 1962, vol. 2, p. 153.

7. J. PANDYA, *The Holy Gītā*, 1944, Introduction.

8. T. G. MAINKAR, *A Comparative Study of the Commentaries on the BG*, Delhi, 1969 (2nd ed.), p. 65.

9. *Ibidem*, p. 65.

supreme way to attain release, the way of exclusive devotion to a merciful personal God . . .”<sup>10</sup>

Having at hand so many different views on the basic teaching of the Gītā one can better understand its real depth through the simile presented by Chidbhavānanda: “In the midst of seeming discord, some kind of concord perhaps lies hidden deep below. If the position of a mirror is granted to the Gītā, the commentaries are the various reflections cast on it. Everybody sees his own face reflected therein. The reflecting mirror alone is the factor common to all of them.”<sup>11</sup>

### 3.3. Classification of the early commentators

Siddhāntāṅkārā<sup>12</sup> classifies the commentators according to their *mārga*: *jñānayoga* with Śankara, *bhaktiyoga* with Rāmānuja and Madhva, *karmayoga* with Tilak (and *divyakarmayoga* of Aurobindo). Many prefer to consider rather the basic philosophical attitudes of the commentators, classifying them as Advaita, Viśishtādvaita, Dvaita, Dvaitādvaita and Śuddhādvaita.

#### 3.3.a. Commentators before Śankara (see also above, 1.3.f)

When producing his immense collection of eleven Gītā-commentaries, the publisher remarked: “Although the text of the Gītā is very old, it is not known whether there existed any commentator of it before Ādi-Śankarācārya. In his introduction of the *Gītā Bhāṣhya*, he refers to some desultory Tikas, extant in his time, and suggests a few — five or six — variants, but the palm of honour goes to him for settling the text of the Gītā and for having written his Advaita Bhāṣhya on it.”<sup>13</sup>

According to Mainkar the pre-Śankara commentators were still Jñāna-kriyā-samuccayavādin and thus faithful to the Gītā’s original syncretistic position. One of these could be named Vṛttikāra as referred to by Ānandagiri, or Bodhāyana as referred to by Rāmānuja. “According to this ‘Samuccaya’ theory, one cannot rely absolutely on Jñāna alone for the attainment of salvation as also on Karman alone, for the same. It is a clever blending of both, Jñāna and Karman, alone that is capable of securing salvation. In a way this is a compromise between the orthodox Vedāntins and the Mimāṃsakas. Predecessors of Śankara held this view

10. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, *Rāmānuja on the BG*, Delhi, 1974, p. 39.

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

12. S. SIDDHĀNTĀṅKĀRĀ, *SBG*, 1965, pp. 103-9 (see also Hindi, p. 128).

13. S. SADHALE, ed., *The BG*, with 11 commentaries, Bombay, 1935-38; Note of the Publisher.



and in the post-Śankara period Kāśmirians, Bhāskara, Rāmakantha, Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana and some of the Viśishtādvaitins also are seen to hold it.”<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3.b. Advaita commentators

Ādi-Śankara, born at Kaladi in Kerala ca. 788<sup>15</sup>, from a Namboodiri Brahman family, became the most authoritative commentator on the BG. As the great exponent of absolute idealism called unqualified monism or non-dualism (*kevala advaita*), he is said to have founded his monasteries of Śaivite reform all over India. In his *Gītābhāṣya* he taught that the main purpose of Krishna’s discourse is the exposition of *jñānayoga* and *karmasannyāsa* (giving up of action). He emphasized verse 4.33: ‘All karma in its entirety culminates in knowledge’ (सर्वं कर्माखिलं ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते); verse 4.36: ‘Even if you be the most sinful of all sinners, yet shall you cross over all sin by the raft of knowledge’ (ज्ञान प्लवेन); and verse 4.37: ‘As the blazing fire reduces fuel to ashes, so does the fire of knowledge reduce all karma to ashes’ (ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते). Brahma is the eternal Absolute All and there is no place for *bhakti* to a personal God in this changing world, which is but *māyā* or reflected, relative reality. Causality and a real distinction between *puruṣa* and *prakṛiti* do not exist, since they are but apparent modifications of the single reality. The only ultimate reality is the absolute Ātman and the individual *jīvātmā* has to be freed from its *avidyā* through the realization of its unity and identity with the Self.

Undoubtedly, such a philosophical interpretation had an influence on the history of BG translation. Modern translators and commentators include the first chapter of the BG in their text, whereas Śankara simply ignored it. Even if some scholars would question the reliability of Śankara’s Vulgate text, only few doubt the authenticity of the *Śankara Bhāṣya*. Nevertheless, as was boldly stated above, Śankara may not always be accepted as the sole correct interpreter of the BG<sup>16</sup>.

Ānandagiri (also called Ānandajnāna, unless that would be a different person) was a disciple of Śankara and wrote a commentary on the *Gītābhāṣya*. Other followers of Śankara and adherents of the Advaita school are: Daivajna Pandita Sūrya, Dhanapati Sūri, Sadānanda, Śankarānanda and Hanumān. The 15th century commentator of the

14. T. G. MAINKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

15. R. D. KARMARKAR, ‘Did Śankaracārya write a Bhāṣya on the BG?’ in *Ann. BORI*, 39 (1958), 365-71.

16. G. FEUERSTEIN, *Introduction to the BG*, pp. 31 and 30.

MBh, Nilakantha Bhatta also wrote an *advaita* commentary on the Gītā. The Gujarātī Śrīdhara (born ca. 1350 at Balodi) was a devotee of Lord Narasimha and found favour with the Bengali Vaishnava devotees. An important interpretation was made by Madhusūdana (late 16th century, born in Faridpur Dt, now in Bangla Desh), who settled in Benares and was invited to the court of Akbar. He introduced *bhakti* in the non-dualist system as a 'Vedantic surrender' to God.

### 3.3.c. Viśishtādvaita commentators

Yāmuna Muni (also called Ālavandāra, 'the victor'), born ca. 918, summarized the teaching of the Gītā in his *Gītārthasangraha* (32 stanzas). He keeps the idea of monism of Śāṅkara, but urged by devotion he introduces an element of *bhakti*, thus qualifying that, within *prakṛiti*, consciousness emerges with a personal relationship to the transcendent Lord Īśvara.

In the 13th century, Vedānta Deśika Venkatanātha (Nigamānta Mahādeśika) composed a commentary on the *Gītārthasangraha* of his master Yāmuna; he also wrote a *Tātparyā Candrikā* on Rāmānuja's *Bhāṣhya*. Commentaries on the work of Yāmunācārya were also written by Varāvara Muni (16th c.) and by Pratyaksha Deva Yathācārya.

The immediate disciple of Yāmuna was Rāmānuja, born ca. 1017 at Sriperumbadur (Tamil Nadu). He was a Vaishnava and exposed the BG in a theistic way in his *Viśishtādvaita Bhāṣhya*: "The Gītā had become an authoritative text and every thinker who attempted to justify the devotional theism of the Vaishnavas against the monistic doctrines of *advaitic* Vedānta could find in it his authority."<sup>17</sup> Rāmānuja found in the BG a complete chapter on Bhaktiyoga (ch. 12) and the invitation, as well as the explicit terminology, for a way of devotion in chapter 18. He emphasized verse 18.62: 'Seek refuge in Him alone with all your heart (तम्-एव शरणम् गच्छ सर्व-भावेन). By His grace you will gain Supreme Peace and the Eternal Abode'; and verse 18.66: 'Renounce all dharmas and take refuge in Me alone (माम् एकम् शरणम् ब्रज). I shall liberate you from all sins; grieve not'.

17. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The author justifies his 'condensed rendering' of the Rāmānujācārya *Bhāṣhya*:

"An Indian commentary is something of its own kind; the commentators have their own style, technique and rules which make a literal translation into a Western language difficult if not impossible . . . A translation of a Sanskrit text like this can never be meant to replace the original text, but only to make it accessible and to clarify it" (p. 40).



The interpretation of Rāmānuja is defended by Plott, as follows:

“ Even though formally, only one Adhyāya is devoted to bhakti, and it appears towards the centre of the Gītā as a whole, the whole poem should be interpreted as an enlargement — at both ends — of it, and does not present a consistent picture at all unless we follow Rāmānuja's lead.

“ It is not a gnostic text, as the Advaitin school tries to make it; nor, for that matter, the basis for a modern social action philosophy such as Tilak — and after him Gandhiji and his followers — have made it out to be. The concept of detachment does give good ground for this modern trend — and it is perhaps a healthy one, but it must be emphatically admitted that without the undergrinding of bhakti, this detachment cannot be.

“ The culmination of the whole classic in the famous śarana-śloka (18.66) wherein śaranāgati is so pointedly enjoined, would be strange indeed if either jñāna or karma were the basic theme.”<sup>18</sup>

Feuerstein maintains that Rāmānuja has gone too far in his differentiation of non-dualism<sup>19</sup>. It should be emphasized, however, that the surrender of Rāmānuja is not the later *prapatti* or total surrender, leaving everything to God's grace. *Pra-pad* in verse 7.14 (‘ Those who take refuge in Me alone, they cross over this illusion ’: माम्-एव ये प्र+पद्यन्ते, मायाम्-एताम् तरन्ति ते) is interpreted as “ taking refuge in God as the One who underlies everything, while cherishing the conviction that God is everything because he is the inner Ruler of all; so that, if one desires to achieve a certain end, be it prosperity, self-experience or the attainment of God himself, one has to follow Him, obey his commands and act according to his teaching ”<sup>20</sup>.

Yāmuna, another Viśishtādvaitin who glories in having the same name as the master, wrote a prose commentary on the BG in the form of a mere paraphrase. Venkatanātha of the 17th century composed *Brahmānanda-giri Vyākhyā*.

### 3.3.d. Dvaita commentators

The *dvaitācārya* Śrī Madhva (also called Ānandatīrtha), born ca. 1199 near Udipi in Karnataka, travelled all over India twice, deploring the fact that hundreds of thousands of manuscripts have been destroyed due to invasions. As a philosopher he opts for unqualified dualism in order to salvage *bhakti* as a way to salvation. He solves the problem of *bhedābheda* (the multiple and the one) by proposing distinctions of

18. J. C. PLOTT, *A Philosophy of Devotion*, Delhi, 1974.

19. G. FEUERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

20. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Lord and soul, Lord and world, soul and soul, soul and world, and objects within the world. He wrote a double commentary on the Gītā: a *Gītā Bhāṣhya* of 1,500 *granthas* (one *grantha* is a unit of 32 syllables), in which he stresses the importance of *nishkāma-karmayoga*, at the same time recommending the pure *aparoksha jñāna* or direct vision of God. His second work is the *Gītā-tātparya-nirnaya*, a discursive prose commentary of 1,300 *granthas*. Commenting on Krishna's relation with *prakṛiti* (verse 9.8), he says that the Lord is like a man who can walk without a stick but who uses one in a playful way.

Jayatirtha wrote a subcommentary on both works of Madhva, viz. *Prameyadīpikā* and *Nyāyadīpikā*. The 6th disciple of Madhva, called Vidyādhiraṇya, wrote also a Gītā commentary, in the 14th century. Another *dvaita* commentator, Rāghavendra Svāmī, pupil of Sudhīndra Yati (17th c.), wrote three works: *Gītā-vivṛiti*, *Gītārtha-sangraha* and *Gītārtha-vivarana*.

### 3.3.e. Dvaitādvaita commentators and the 'Kashmirians'

Nimbārka Svāmī, a Vaishnavite Brahmin of Andhra Pradesh (12-13th c.), sought a middle path between *advaita* and *dvaita*, through a combination of a dualistic non-dualism. His school found its scholarly expression in the commentary on the Gītā by Keśava Bhatta 'Kāśmīrī' (15-16th c.).

The Kashmir group, however, stands separately. The commentators of this school drew inspiration from the writings of the early, non-Śāṅkaran Vedāntin Bhāskara, who is considered by many as a South Indian from Karnataka (8-9th c.), although others place him in the north. His fragmentary commentary on the Gītā came to light only recently. Bhāskara quotes and refutes Śāṅkara, defending a *Jñāna-karma-samuccaya* interpretation.

The first great Kashmirian is the mystic Abhinavagupta (end 10th c., early 11th c.), who wrote on poetics and drama, on Śaiva philosophy and on Tantrism. Aware of the fact that a poetico-religious text can have a great number of meanings, he decided to opt for one and defend it: *jñāna* is flanked by *karma* — which he terms *vijnāna* — although "actions flee before knowledge (of the Supreme), like gazelles in the jungle when the lion roars".

Ānandavardhana, ca. 1680, sought more the ethic than the aesthetic beauty in the Gītā, making a further compromise between *jñāna* and *karma*. Earlier, Rāmakantha had accentuated the element of devotion, from a Śaiva point of view.

The Kashmirians hold a dialectical monism, in which multiplicity is a mere illusion (it cannot be said *to be* or *not to be*). Even Krishna is



*māyā*. In moderate Advaitism, the view would not be accepted that the world of multiplicity is a mirage only; it attributes reality to the multiple beings in as far as they actually are forms or modes of being of the One Being. According to Abhinavagupta and his companions, *māyā* is the very liberty of consciousness, the infinite power of God by which multiplicity is manifested and yet remains non-dual. Hence, they seem to be closer to the original sense of *māyā* in the BG, where it is the mysterious power of God, making everything to appear, with the result that it is ' (Me) abiding in all beings ' (सर्वभूतस्थितम्, v. 6.31).

### 3.3.f. Śuddhādvaita commentators

Vallabha (1473-1531) became the *ācārya* of the fifth *sampradāya* which returned to a pure Vaishnava Śuddhādvaita. He wrote no explicit commentary on the BG but expressed his views in the *Tattvārthadīpa* to which he added a glossary. A sub-commentary was written by Āvaranabhaṅga. Vallabha's second son, Vitthalanātha, wrote an extensive commentary on the meaning of the Gītā and some shorter essays. Kalyāṇa Bhatta too wrote a large commentary. The fifth grandson of Vallabhācārya, also called Vallabha (born in 1617), gave the Śuddhādvaita school a superb treatise in his *Tattvadīpikā*. Finally, the seventh descendant of the first Vallabha was Purushottama, who became the most learned and prolific writer of the school. Like Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (see above, p. 90) in the Advaita school, he brought in *bhakti* as a welcome corrective. One of the Śuddhādvaita exponents in modern times is Gattulāla.

### 3.3.g. The first vernacular commentators

Jnānadeva or Jnāneśvara wrote his *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* of 9,000 stanzas in Old Marathi (1290 A.D.), one of the earliest commentaries in a vernacular (see also below, p. 199). Producing a unique combination of philosophy, poetry and mysticism, Jnānadeva contributed immensely to the popularization of the Gītā. His commentary is at times no more than a translation or eloquent paraphrase. A few examples are given:

"When the sun has arisen, shall darkness re-appear? Or when wakefulness comes, shall the illusion of a dream continue to give trouble? Take no thought, therefore, oh Arjuna, for thy sin and merit shall both be transformed into My being . . . From this time onwards thou hast become free. Entertain no anxiety, therefore, and resign thyself to Me in being united with Me."<sup>21</sup> The first verse of the Gītā is rendered as follows:

21. Quoted from ch. 18, 1398ff., in R. D. RANADE, *BG as a Philosophy of God-realization*, Bombay, 1965, p. 61.

“Dhritarāshtra, moved by affection for his sons, said, ‘Oh Sanjaya, tell me (what occurred on) the battle-field of the Kurus. On the field which is said to be the abode of righteousness, my sons and the Pāndavas have arrayed themselves, intent on fighting. Tell me now, what they have been doing there so long, thus facing each other.’”<sup>22</sup>

Another Maharashtrian poet is Vāmana Pandita, whose Marathi *Samaślokīgītā* is dualistic, with a tinge of *saguna bhakti*. Although himself a monist, Ananta Yajneśvara Dhūpakara wrote his *Avigītā* in Sanskrit using the vernacular commentaries of both Maharashtrians. Rāmacandra Sidheśvara Pandita too was a Vedāntin, but in his Marathi commentary, written ca. 1820, he stressed *nishkāma karmayoga*, thus anticipating by 100 years the great Maharashtrian Tilak.

### 3.3.h. Some recent commentaries

Bewildered by the amount and variety of commentaries, the trans-cultural translator may be inclined to dismiss them all, convinced that when everything is said and done there is more said than done. However, commentaries act like bridges, joining the past to the present; in the commentaries we find approaches from different angles and from different periods, each one adding an insight to the ancient message, for “no interpretations — not even the one that may pretend to be faithful to the text — can possibly be absolutely free from any prejudice”<sup>1</sup>.

The secret of the Gītā, according to Tilak, lies in the effort Krishna makes to bring the hesitating Arjuna to action. Completely detached<sup>2</sup>, the karma-yogin performs the action that has to be done, as Arjuna concludes in the last line of the Gītā: “I shall act according to Thy word” (18.73). Tilak emphasizes that “the doctrine of the Gītā has come into existence only in order to explain why a wise man must perform a particular act ... The Gītā advocates the performance of action in this world even after the actor has achieved the highest union with the supreme Deity by Jñāna (knowledge) or Bhakti (devotion).”<sup>3</sup> Yet, even in our modern *karma yuga* some commentators opposed Tilak’s interpretation (1915, see the references given with Mar. 120).

22. Translated by V. G. Pradhān, London, 1967.

1. M. T. SAHASRABUDHE, reviewing K. V. RAO’s *SBG* in *Ann. BORI*, 35 (1954), 279.
2. “Without attachments, perform always the work that has to be done, for man obtains to the highest by doing work without attachment” (3.19, Radhakrishnan).
3. L. B. G. TILAK, *Gītā Rahasya*, tr. from Marathi by B. S. Sukthankar, Poona, 1935-36, vol. I, p. 417 and p. XXIV.



Śrī Rāmakrishna (1834-86) lived the message of the Gītā but did not write any commentary or translation; his disciples Svāmī Vivekānanda and Brahmānanda founded the Rāmakrishna Mission in 1897. The R. K. Mission monasteries have ever since been centres of learning and social service; fine translations and commentaries have been produced by some of its monks, e.g. Svāmī Svarūpānanda (1903...), Svāmī Chidbhavānanda (1965).

After a successful stay in Cambridge (UK) and political activities against the British in Calcutta, Aurobindo (1872-1950) was put in jail (1908), where he had a mystical experience of union with Krishna. From his *āśrama* in Pondicherry, his "Essays on the Gita" started to appear in the review *Ārya* (1916-20), exerting a strong influence on several translations (in different languages).

Kuppusvamy worked first as a civil surgeon in Singapore before he became Jagadguru Śrī Svāmī Śivānanda and started the Divine Life Society in 1936. With headquarters at Rishikesh, the society has centres all over the world; the guru's insights in the doctrine of the BG were incorporated in the translation made by his disciples (see Hin. 153, Muktarāṇī). The translation of A. Besant (and Bhagavān Dās, Theosophical Society, Madras) has been the basis for translations in several languages.

In the same way the Bengali rendering and commentary by Svāmī Prabhupāda (A. C. Bhaktivedānta) have been rendered into nearly a dozen languages. The English model-translation was called *The BG as it is* (1972) because "in almost all the English editions of the BG were introduced someone's personal ambitions, because in almost every one of them the commentator has expressed his own opinion without touching the BG as it is"; therefore, a version "without adulteration" is produced (Introduction).

Nevertheless, we find not a few innovations which have been the object of criticism: in the very first verse of the Gītā *dharmakshetra* is rendered as 'place of pilgrimage'; further on *buddhi-yoga* is translated as '(Krishna) consciousness' (2.49, 61); *Jñānayoga* as 'transcendental knowledge' (4.39); *yukta* as 'steadily devoted' (5.12); *karmayoga* as 'transcendental service of the Lord' (comm. on 3.8-9) or 'action in Krishna-consciousness'. In the commentary on ch. 6, it says: "The culmination of all kinds of yoga lies in bhakti-yoga... to become Krishna-conscious is the highest stage of yoga".

Maharshi Mahesh Yogi (born as Prasād Varmā in 1918) founded the Spiritual Regeneration Movement in 1958 and introduced the method of Transcendental Meditation. The first volume of his commentary on the Gītā appeared in 1967, with the statement: "BG is the scripture of

yoga, of Divine Union, to raise the consciousness of man to the highest under auspices of the Spiritual Regeneration Movement ”.

The BG is not the private property of one particular school of interpretation. Even the Nazis in Germany may have found inspiration in it, through the translation by Hauer<sup>4</sup>, who stressed the “Indo-Aryan origin of this philosophy of fight and action ”.

In a recent publication, Sinha<sup>5</sup> deals explicitly with the possible reconciliation of the Marxist practical ideology and the Gītā's path of *anāsakti yoga*, in the tradition of Gāndhījī.

In conclusion, we may state that a completely objective and cold attitude towards the Gītā is neither feasible nor recommendable for a translation:

“The attitude in some academic circles is that a philosopher is all the more to be praised, for being objective, the less he believes in the philosophy he is interpreting. The Gita, however, is not a treatise which can be translated and commented upon by one who has not to some extent experienced the validity of its premises.”<sup>6</sup>

### 3.4. List of Sanskrit commentaries and related works

#### 3.4.a. Subtitles of (mostly anonymous) Gītā commentaries

Innumerable Gītā commentaries, often in the form of brief poetical compositions, have appeared in the course of the centuries. Many of them have never been published and their authors remain unknown. One can only guess what the contents of this Sanskrit poetry is, from the subtitles added to the first term SBG, BG or Gītā (e.g. *Gītāmrita*).

At the same time we should mention the metrical compositions added to the title MBh, Bhārata or Itihāsa (e.g. *Bhārata-sāra*, *Itihāsa-samuccaya*; *MBh-kathā* or *MBh-sangraha*, *MBh satīkam*, *MBh-sāvitri*, etc.).

The subtitles below are listed alphabetically, sometimes with a reference to the name of an editor, publisher, etc.

4. J. W. HAUER, *Eine Indo-Arische Metaphysik des Kampfes und der Tat, Die BG in neuer Sicht*, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1934.
5. H. S. SINHA, *Communism and Gita, A philosophico-ethic Study*, Concept Publ. Co., Delhi, 1979. Man's purpose is not served by an alienating “self-realization” through a heavenward “religion”, for Marx has simply suggested to substitute the word ‘man’ for ‘self’ ... The aim of communism is, that man ought to realize in practical life that he is ‘man’ by breaking the ‘fetters’ which have compelled him to exist as ‘un-man’. Thus speaking, his theory becomes a theory of ‘man-realization’ (p. 34).
6. G. FEUERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 15, quoting P. J. SAHER, *Eastern Wisdom and Western thought*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1969, p. 51.



-*amrita*, -*amrita bodhinī* (e.g. *Śrī Gītāmritabodhinī*, compiled by V. Rāma Prapanna, alias Lt Henry Wahab, Madras, 1908), -*amrita dhārā*, -*amrita ranginī*, -*anukramanikā*, -*ārati*, -*artha*, -*artha dīpikā*, -*ashtādaśa ślokī*, -*bhajana*, -*bhāshya*, -*bhāshya vivecanam*, -*dhyānam* (e.g. 16 lines edited in Belvalkar's critical ed., Appendix II, No. 2; or 26 lines in A. Besant and Bhagavān Dās, *BG*, 6th ed., pp. L-LIII), -*garbha*, -*gopikā*, -*gutakā* (e.g. *BG dvādaśa-ratna-gutakā*, Bombay, 1921 or *BG panca-ratna-gutakā*, Ahmedabad, 1922), -*harshinī*, -*jnāna pradīpikā*, -*kavacam*, -*laghu vyākhyā*, -*māhātmya* (e.g. as a commendation found in the *Padma Purāna*, *Varāha Purāna*, *Skanda Purāna*, *Vāyu Purāna* and *Brahmānanda Purāna*; also in the form of a [*Krishna-Arjuna*] *samvāda*, *Vishnu dharma*, *Vaishnavīya tantra sāra*, etc.; or other combinations like *SBG*, *Gītāmāhātmya*, *śārīrika mīmāṃsā sūtra sametā*, (in Grantha char., Sarada Vilas Press, Kumbakonam, 1918), -*mahimā*, -*māna* (e.g. 3 lines, edited as *Gītāmāna* in Belvalkar's critical edition, No. 112), -*nyāsa* in the form of a [tantric] introduction, e.g. 26 lines *Gītā-karādinyāsa*, in Belvalkar's ed., Appendix No. 2 or in Besant, pp. XLVII-XLIX, 6th ed.), -*pāncolī*, -*prabhoda candrikā*, -*prakāśikā*, -*praśasti* (e.g. 6 lines, ed. as *Gītāpraśasti* in Belvalkar's crit. ed., No. 113), -*pratipāda*, *pratipadārtha candrikā*, -*pūrva pīthikā*, -*rahasya*, -*samangalācāra ślokapaddhati*, -*samanvayabhāshya* (e.g. *SBG* with *Samanvaya bhāshya*, [Vidyaratna Press], Calcutta, 1899; or ed. by Upādhyāya Bhai and Govindarāja, Calcutta, 1914, 2nd ed.), -*sangraha*, -*rasikarānjini tīkā*, -*sapta ślokī*, -*sāra* (e.g. as an epitome found in the *Skanda Purāna*; 51 to 57 ślokas in Belvalkar's crit. ed., Appendix I, No. 3 or other combinations like *Nirvāna-gītāsāra*), -*sārārtha sangraha*, -*sāra stotram*, *sāra stuti*, -*śāstramālā mantra*, -*śataślokī*, -*subodhinī*, -*tīkā*, -*upasamhāra*, -*vyākhyā* (e.g. ed. Indira Press, Poona, 1906).

### 3.4.b. Important collections of Gītā commentaries

1. DESAI, I. S., ed., *SBG*, with 7 commentaries, (Gujarati Printing Press), Bombay, 1906; enlarged in 1935, see below, No. 5.
2. NARASIMHĀCĀRYA, A. V. and T. T., eds., *SBG*, with five commentaries (Rāmānuja, Vedāntadeśika, Śankara, Madhva, Jayatīrtha), 3 vols., (Ānanda Press), Madras, 1910-11.
3. LALLURĀMA, S. J. and others, eds., *SBG*, with 8 (more) commentaries (Bhatta, Madhusūdana, Śankarānanda, Śrīdhara, Sadānanda, Sūri, Sūrya, Rāghavendra), (Gujarati Printing Press), Bombay, 1912-15.
4. PANSIKAR, V. L. S., *SBG*, with 8 commentaries (Śankara, Ānandagiri, Nīlakantha, Madhusūdana, Sūri, Śrīdhara, Abhinavagupta, Śarmā); published by Tukārām Jāvaji, (Nirnaya Sāgar Press), Bombay, (1912), 1936.
5. SADHALE, S. G. S., *SBG*, with 11 commentaries (Śankara, Ānandagiri, Rāmānuja, Venkatanātha [*Tātparya-candrikā*], Madhva, Jaya-

tirtha, Hanumān, Venkatanātha [*Brahmānanda-giri*], Vallabha, Purushottama, Nilakantha) and 3 additions (Yāmuna, Venkatanātha [Rakshā], Dhūpakara), (Gujarati Printing Press), Bombay, 1935-38.

Many commentaries on the BG — like so many Sanskrit works — may still be available only in manuscript form. Some of the titles listed below were found only in catalogues of manuscripts. The names of the known commentators are arranged alphabetically. Main editions and translations are added to stress the importance of the commentary or subcommentary.

### 3.4.c. List of Sanskrit commentaries

1. an., *Ānandagiriya-vārttikā*, on Ānandagiri's com.
- 1a. an., *Gītābhāram* (in Bengali script; Asiatic Soc., Calcutta, Ms. No. 543), ca. 1736.
- 1b. an., *Pāncolī BG-tīkā*, ed. 1968; see also present list No. 107.
2. ABHINAVAGUPTA, (Kashmir, early 11th c.) *Gītārthasangraha*, ed. several times; crit. ed. and English tr. by S. Śankaranārāyanar, Tirupati, in prep.; Italian tr. by R. Gnoli, Turin, 1976. See above, p. 92. See Eng. 212; Italian 7.
3. ABHYANKARA, Vāsudeva Śāstrī, *Ankura-vyākhyā*, on BG chs. 1-2; revised by Śankara Śāstrī Marūlakara, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 109), Poona, 1938.
4. ADVAITĀCĀRYA, Caitanyite com., 16th cent.; (ref. by H. Vedānta Śāstrī).
5. AGASTYA, Pandita, *Bāla-bhāratam*, (epitome of MBh in 20 cantos, patronized by King Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Vārangal). See present list No. 190.
6. AMARACANDRA, Sūri, *Bāla-bhāratam*, (metrical summary of MBh according to a Jain-interpretation; the *Bhīshmaparva* consisting of 384 stanzas), ca. 1280; ed. by Pt. Śiva Dutta, (Kāvya-mālā Series, 45), 1894; see below, p. 121.
7. ĀNANDA, *Svātmānandavivardhinī*, a subcom. on Balarāma's *Gītā-sāra*. See present list No. 18.
8. ĀNANDAGIRI, (or Ānandajnāna, Janārdana, Brahmānanda[giri] ...), (Advaitavādī, end 13th century), *Śāṅkarabhāṣya-vyākhyā*, or *BG-bhāṣya-vivarana-vivecana*, (a subcommentary on Śankara's com.); ed. by Jagannātha Śukla, Calcutta, 1853; Hitalāla Miśra, Calcutta, 1873; Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1879; Kailāśacandra Simha, Calcutta, 1884; S. J. Gondhalekar, Poona, 1886; Umadatta Tripāthī, Lucknow, 1888; K. S. Āgāṣe, Poona, 1896; Damodar M. Vidyānanda, Calcutta, 1897-1905; Ādya Prasāda Miśra, Benares, 1905-9; Caduluvāda Sundararāma, Madras, 1911-16 (in Telugu char.); V. L. S. Pansikar, Bombay, 1912; P. Tarkabhūshana (with Bengali tr.), Calcutta, 1913 (2nd); ... See above, p. 89. See Hin. 6, 38, 140, 243, 257; Ben. 63, 149, 155, 220, 230, 236; Tam. 13; Eng. 27; Italian 10; ... See also present list No. 1, 129, 204.
- ĀNANDAJNĀNA(GIRI), see ĀNANDAGIRI.
- ĀNANDAPŪRNA, see VIDYĀSĀGARA.
- ĀNANDATĪRTHA, see MADHVA,



9. ĀNANDATĪRTHA, Satyajñāna, Muni, (disciple of Rāmakrishnānandatīrtha), BG com. on ch. 15.
10. ĀNANDAVARDHANA, (Kashmirian), *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*, ca. 1680; compared with Śankara's com. by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1941. See above, p. 92.
11. ĀNJANEYA, *Hanumad-bhāshya*.
12. ANUBHŪTI-SVARŪPĀCĀRYA, (Advaitavādī), *BG-bhāshya-tippaṇī* on Śankara's com.; (ref. in V. Rāghavan, ed., *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Madras, 1949).
13. ĀPATE, Vināyaka Ganeśa, *SBG-tīkā*, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 44), Poona, 1933.
14. ARJUNAMIŚRA, *Bhāratārthadīpikā*, (with com. on *Bhīshmaparva*).
15. ĀVARANABHANGA, (Śuddhādvaitavādī), subcommentary on Valabhācārya's com.
- BALADEVA, see VIDYĀBHŪSHANA.
16. BĀLAKRISHNA, *Gītāsiddhāntasangraha*, (according to Rāmānuja's com.).
17. BĀLAKRISHNADĀSA, *BG-tīkā bhāvaprakāśinī*, (according to Nimbārka's school).
18. BALARĀMADĀSA, *Gītāsāra*. See present list No. 7.
19. BĀNAMĀLIN, *Gītātīkā* (ref. in A. Holtzmann).
20. BHAGAVADĀCĀRYA, Panditarāja Svāmī, (Śrī Rāmānanda sampradāya), *Bhagavadbhāshya*, (with Hindi introd. *Tattva-vimarśa*), (Śrī Rāmānanda Pr. Pr.), Allahabad, 1956; also in Gujarati.
21. BHAGAVATĀNANDA, *Gītāmritamanjūshā vyākhyā*, (ed. with Caitachidāsa-bhāshā and Bhāratī Bosa-bhāshā in Hindi), 1969 (2nd).
- BHAKTIVINODA, see THAKKURA.
- BHĀRADVĀJA, Motilāla Śarmā, see CATURVEDĪ, G. S.
- 21a. BHĀRATĪ, Śankarānanda, *Gītā-Pravacanāni*, (Sanskrit tr. of Vinoba's Marathi Talks on the Gītā; foreword by Anantaśāstrī Phadage), (Akhila Bhārata Sarva-sevā-sangha Prakāśana), Varanasi, 1962.
22. BHARTRIPRAPANCA, Pre-Śankara Gītā-commentary (lost).
23. BHĀSKARA, (Bhedābheda-vādī, 8th cent.), *Bhagavadāśayānusāranā-bhidānagītābhāshya*; variant readings indicated by T. R. Chintamani in edition of Rāmakantha's com., 1941; *SBG*, chs. 1-9, *bhagavadbhāskara-bhāshyayukta*, ed. by Samudra Jhā, Benares, 1965; available texts ed. by Baladeva Upādhyāya (Sarasvatī Bhavan Granthamālā, 94) and Dr Subhadropādhyāya; ed. with English tr. by J. A. B. Van Buitenen; commented upon by V. Rāghavan, B. N. K. Sharmā. See above, p. 92.
- BHATTA, see JANĀRDANA and RĀMAKANTHA.
24. BHATTA, Ananta, (Ghule), *MBh-vyākhyā vishamapadacandrikā*, (explanation of difficult passages).
25. BHATTA, Kalyāna, *Rasikaranjanī BG-tīkā*.
26. BHATTA, Keśava Kāśmīrī, (Dvaitādvaitavādī, Nimbārka's tradition), *Tattvaparakāśikā*; ed. by B. Nityasvarūpa, Vrindāvana, 1909; L. Lallurama, Bombay, 1912-13.
27. BHATTA, Vidyādhirāja, *Madhva-matānuvartini BG-vyākhyā*; ed. with Marathi tr. by Indirākāntatīrtha Śrīpada, Kanpur, 1915.
28. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Paramānanda, *MBh-tīkā*.
- BHATTĀCĀRYA, Vrajaratna, *BG* with *Śrīdharī* and own com.
- BHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, see BHATTA, Vidyādhirāja.

29. BHAVE, Vinoba, see BHĀRATĪ, S.
30. BHŪPĀLA, Raghunātha, *Bhāratasārasangraha*, ca. 1635.
31. BODHĀYANA (?), com. referred to by Rāmānuja.
32. BRAHMACĀRIN, Vitamānanda, *SBG-vyākhyā*, (Govardhana Press), Calcutta, 1916.
33. BRAHMĀNANDA, *Brahmānandī BG-tīkā*.
- BRAHMĀNANDAGIRI, see ĀNANDAGIRI.
34. BRAHMAYOGĪ, Śrī Upanishad, (Advaitavādi), *BG-arthaprakāśikā*; ed. by Pandits of the Adyar Library, Madras, 1941 (Adyar Libr. Ser., 25); Cauhambā Amarabhāratī Prakāśana, Vārānasī.
35. CAKRAVARTTĪ, Viśvanātha, (end 17th cent.), *BG-sārārthavarshinī* (or *-darśinī*); ed., Mayapur, 1918; (with Bengali tr. of chs. 1-2:16) by B. B. Gosvāmī, Calcutta, 1951; tr. into Bengali by Kedāranātha Datta, Calcutta, 1886; comm. in Bengali by Hrishikeśa Śila, Calcutta, 1939; Bhaktivinoda, Calcutta, 1926 (3rd); also in English by J. O'Connell. See Ben. 39, 92, 119, 155, 216. See also present list No. 208.
36. CANDRA, Gokula, *Gītāsāra* (or *BG-arthasāra*).
37. CATTIKONERI, *MBh, Tātparyanirnaya-tīkā*, on Madhva's com.
- CATURDHARA, see NĪLAKANTHA.
- 37a. CATURVEDI, Giridhara Śarmā, ed., *Gītāvijnāna bhāshya* in Skt. and Hindi by Motilāla Śarmā BHĀRADVĀJA (see Hindi 45) and Madhusūdana ŚARMĀ (see present list No. 149) for the Rajasthan Vaidika-tattva-śodha Sansthāna, Jaipur, sev. vols.
38. CHAUBE, Ram Kumar, 'Gītāyām aparyāpta-paryāpta śabdārthavīcārah', (on BG 1.10), in *All India Orient. Conf.*, 16 (1951), Summary, 227.
39. DĀSA, Makunda, *BG-bhāvārthadīpikā*.
40. DĀSA, Purushottama, *BG-advaitāmṛita*; ed. by Vijayacandra Varmā, Benares, 1904.
41. DATTĀTREYA, *BG-prabodha-candrikā*.
42. DAYĀNANDA, Svāmī, *Gītārthacandrikā*, (Bhārata Syndicate), Benares, 1928. See Hin. 73a.
- DEŚIKA, see VENKATANĀTHA.
43. DEVABODHA, (disciple of Satyabodha), *MBh-tātparya-tīkā jñāna-dīpikā*.
44. DEVABODHA, Devasvāmī, *MBh-vyākhyā* (with *Bhīshmaparvadīpikā*), 12th cent.
45. DEVAŚARMĀ, Dāmodara, *Gītābodha-vivardhinī*; ed. with Bengali tr., (Metcalf Press), Calcutta, 1904-9.
- DHANAPATI, see SŪRĪ.
- DHARMADATTA, see ŚARMĀ.
46. DHRUVASVĀMĪ, *BG-tīkā*; ed. in Hindi by B. Basaka, 1870. See Hin. 38.
47. DHŪPAKARA, Śāstrī Ananta Yajñeśvara, *Avigītā*, based on *Jñāneśvarī* and Marathī commentaries; ed. by S. G. S. Sadhale, 1935-38.
48. DĪKSHITA, Appaya, *MBh-sārasangraha vyākhyā*.
49. DĪKSHITA, Vitthala(nātha), (1518-88), *BG-hetunirnaya*; (ref. in *Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. in Private Libraries of N.W. Prov.*, Benares, 1874). See present list No. 217. Also *BG-tātparya*; (ref. in P. Peterson, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. 3, Bombay, 1882-98).
50. GADĀNANDA, *MBh-tīkā*.
51. GANEŚĀNANDA, *BG-tīkā*.



52. GAYĀPRASĀDA, SBG, (with Sanskrit introd. and paraphrase, and *Śrībālabodhinī gītārthacandrikā* com.), Allahabad, 1926.
53. GATTULALAJI, Pandita, (Śuddhādvaitavādi), *BG-tīkā*; preserved in Gujarati metrical tr., Bombay, 1890.
- 53a. GAUDAPĀDA, Ācārya, *Subodhinī* BG-com.
54. GIRI, Cidānanda, *BG-gūdhārthadīpikā*; ed. by Khemrāja Śrīkrishnadāsa, Bombay, 1921.
55. GIRIDHARĪDĀSA, (disciple of Krishnadāsa), *BG-arthakusuma-vaijayantī*.
56. GOBHILA, Maharshi, *Gītārtha-sangraha*; ed. by K. T. Sreenivasachariar with editor's Preface and Foreword by S. Subrahmanya Iyer, (Sudha Dharma Mandala), Madras, 1917 (2nd).
57. GOKHALE, R. S., Rāmacandra Hari, *SBG-āryāsaptasatī*, (easy rendering in Sanskrit), Bombay, 1914.
58. HANUMĀN, (Advaitavādi), *Paiśācabhāshya*; ed. by Kāśinātha S. Āgāse and Bābā S. Phadake, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 144), Poona, 1901; Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38. See Ben. 155.
59. HARIYAŚOMIŚRA, (18th cent.), *BG-tīkā*, based on Madhusūdana's com.; ref. in Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Calcutta, 1871-90.
60. HEMACANDRA, (beginning 12th cent.), *Bhārata*, Jain adaptation.
61. JAGADDHARA, *BG-pradīpa*, (according to Śankara's com.) and *MBh-tīkā*.
62. JAIMINI, *Bhārata*, (only *Aśvamedha parva* is known).
- JANĀRDANA, see ĀNANDAGIRI.
63. JANĀRDANA, Bhatta, (17th cent.), *MBh-tātparyā-nirnaya-vyākhyā* (or *Padārtha dīpikā* on Madhva's com.); ed. Belgaum, 1884; Bombay, 1890; by U. Ainapure and V. A. R. Savant, Bombay, 1891.
64. JAYARĀMA, Rāma(krishna), *Gītārthasārasangraha-dīpikā* (or *Gītārthadīpikā*, *Gītā-sārārthasangraha*); ed. by Pandit Ramasakula Miśra and Dhundraja Śāstrī, in *The Pandit*, 1912-20.
65. JAYATĪRTHA, (Dvaitavādi, 1365-88), *Prameya-dīpikā* on Madhva's *gītābhāshya*; ed. by G. M. Janorikar, Bombay, 1887; Krishnācārya, Bombay, 1914-18; Dhundrāja Śāstrī, Bombay, 1918; S. G. S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38. Also *Nyāyadīpikā* on Madhva's com.; ed. by Krishnācārya, Bombay, 1905. See above, p. 92.
- JNĀNADEVA, see JNĀNEŚVARA.
66. JNĀNEŚVARA, *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, ca. 1290, tr. into Sanskrit by Mahadeva Śarmā, Poona, 1929; Ananta S. V. Khāṣanīsa, (chs. 7-18). See present list No. 48, 261.
67. KAIVALYĀNANDA, *Gītāsāra*.
68. KALYĀNA-RĀYA, (1567-1600), *Rasikaranjinī*; (ref. in *Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. in Private Lib. of N.W. Prov.*, Benares, 1874).
- KAVI, see RĀMARĀYA.
- KEŚAVA KĀSMĪRĪ, see BHATTA.
69. KEŚAVĀRKA(?), *Gītābhāshya padabodhinī*, ca. 1555; (ref. in *Cat. of Sanskrit Mss.* No. 3268-9, India Office Library).
70. KEŚAVASĀKSHĪ, Bhagavatpāda, *BG-śāṅkara-bhāshyasankshepa*.
71. KRISHNĀCĀRYA or KRISHNA ŚRĪNIVĀSATĪRTHA (son of Tirumalācārya), *Prameya-dīpikā-bhāvaprakāśa* (or *Prameyadīpikā-vyākhyā*, a subcom. on Jayatīrtha's com.); ed. by M. G. Jānorikara's Press, Bombay, 1887.

72. KRISHNADĀSA, Kavirāja, (17th. cent.), com. on BG verses in his *Caitanya-caritāmrita* and *Śrībhāgavata* com. See present list No. 55.
73. KRISHNALĀLA, *SBG-bhajana-saptaśatī*, (com. in form of *bhajana*), (Lakshmī Electric Press), Baroda, 1928.
74. KSHEMENDRA, Kāśmīrī, ca. 1037 A.D., *Bhāratamanjarī*.  
Note: "The whole Bhishmaparvan has been completed in 497 verses only. All the chapters of the BG have been exceedingly compressed; only a gist of each chapter is to be found", e.g. 3 verses only for ch. 10 (J. Ghosh, *Epic Sources of Sanskrit Lit.*, Calcutta, vol. 1, p. 3).
75. LAKSHMANA, *MBh-prakāśa*.
76. LAKSHMANĀCĀRYA, T., *SBG-upanyāsa-darpana*; ed. in 3 vols., (Dixon Press), Madras, 1924.
77. LAKSHMĪRĀMA, Rājānaka, (Advaitavādi), *BG-tattvaparakāśikā*, ca. 1810.
78. LASAKĀKA, Kāśmīrī(?), *BG-tīkā*.
79. MADHUSŪDANA-SARASVATĪ (1540-1647, Advaitavādi with vedāntic *bhakti*), *Gūdhārthadīpikā*; ed. Bombay, 1880; Prasannakumāra Śāstrī, Calcutta, 1886; D. V. Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1897-1905; K. S. S. Agase (with Śrīdhara's com.) in *Ānandāsrama Sanskrit Series*, 45, Poona, (1901), 1912; S. Subrahmanya (in Kannada char.), Mysore, 1911; C. Sundararāma, Madras, 1911-16; S. J. Lallurama, Bombay, 1912-15; V. L. S. Pansīkar, Bombay, (1912), 1936; N. L. H. Sarma, Bombay, 1916; K. Smrititīrtha, Calcutta, 1923;... See above, p. 90. See Hin. 77, 87, 111, 196, 198; Urdu 8; Ben. 11, 69, 155, 227, 238, 240; Guj. 47; Tam. 13; Eng. 27, 113. See present list No. 59, 148.
80. MADHVA, Ānandatīrtha or Pūrnaprajna (1199-1278 or 1238-1317, Dvaitācārya), *BG-bhāshya*; ed. by G. M. Janorikar, Bombay, 1887; T. R. Krishnacarya and A. Ramacarya, Bombay, 1892; Belgaum, 1896; C. Sundararāma (in Telugu char.), Madras, 1911-16; D. Sastri, Bombay, 1918.  
Also *Gītātātparyanirnaya*; ed. by T. R. Krishnacarya and A. Ramacarya, Bombay, 1892; Belgaum, 1896; (with Kannada tr.), Udipi, 1929...  
*MBh-tātparyanirnaya*; ed. Bangalore, 1867; Belgaum, 1884; Bombay, 1890; V. Ainapure, Bombay, 1891; T. R. Krishnacarya and A. Ramacarya, Bombay, 1892; Belgaum, 1896; K. S. Rau (with Kannada com., *Madhva Prabandhamālā*, 4 vols.), 1908-12; Kumbakonam, 1911; Udipi, 1929; B. Gururajah Rao (with English tr.), part I, Bangalore, 1943; Udipi, 1952;... See above, p. 91. See Tel. 21; Tam. 4, 13; Kan. 54, 81; Eng. 198, 199, 202. See present list No. 37, 63, 65, 81, 99, 104, 105, 115, 164, 173, 209, 221.
81. [MADHVA], *Gītābhāshya-tippaṇī*, com. on Madhva's com.
- MAHĀRĀJA, see PURUSHOTTAMA.
82. MAHĀRĀJA, Satyadhyāna Tīrtha Svāmī, *Gītā-sāra-sangraha*; tr. into English by R. A. Katgeri, (Mahavira Karnataka Press), Belgaum, 1937.
- 82a. MAHĀTMAN, Vitarāga, *SBG Tattvadarsanī*, (Vāsudeva N. Singh), Paliya.
83. MAHĀŚAYA, Yogirāja Śrīśyāmācarana Lāhirī, *SBG ādhyātmika dīpikā*; ed. with Śrīdhara's com. in Hindi tr., and Śrībhūpendranātha Sānyāla's com., 3 vols., Benares, 1962 (2nd).
84. MAHEŚVARA, *MBh-sangraha*.



85. MAJŪMADĀRA, Śrī Rāmadayāla, *SBG-sāra-sangraha*, (with explanations in Bengali), 3 vols., Calcutta, 1915, 1600 pp.
86. MAJŪMADĀRA, Rāmanātha, *BG-tīkā*, (Giriśavidyāratna Press), Calcutta, 1898.
- MAKUNDA, see DĀSA (Mukundadāsa?).
- MARŪLAKAR, Sankara Śāstri, see ABHYANKARA, V.
87. MATHURĀNĀTHA, *BG-prakāśa*.
88. MIŚRA, Arjuna, *Bhāratārthasangraha-dīpikā*.
89. MIŚRA, Caturbhuja, *MBh-vyākhyā*, with *tātparyaprakāśikā* on *Bhīṣmaparva*, ca. 1300.
90. MIŚRA, Hariyaśa, *BG-tīkā*; (ref. in A. Holtzmann).
91. MIŚRA, Vanamali, (1650-1720), *Gūdhārthacandrikā*; (ref. in *Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. in Private Libr., N.W. Prov., Benares*, 1874).
92. MITRA, Sāradācarana, *Ātmanām nityatva*, com. on selected BG verses, (Nūṭana Sanskrit Press), Calcutta, 1887.
93. MITRA, Vishnu, *Gītāvacanāmṛita*, (Vaidika Pustakālaya), Lahore, 1925.
94. MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA, Dāmodara, Vidyānanda, *Gītābodhavivardhinī*, (with own Bengali com. and tr.), Calcutta, 1923.
95. MUKHOPĀDYĀYA, Surendracandra, *BG-bhāṣhā*, 1923.
- MUKUNDADĀSA, *BG-tīkā* (see DĀSA, M. ?).
96. MUNI, *MBh-vyākhyā*.
97. NĀGALINGAŚIVA, *Laghucandrikā BG-tātparyanirnaya*; ed. with Nilakantha's com., Matnavilli, 1958).
98. NANDANĀCĀRYA, *MBh-dīpikā*.
99. NARAHARI, (Tīrtha), *Bhāvaṇṇaprakāśa* on Madhva's com. Also *BG-sāra-sangraha*, ca. 1330; (ref. in B. N. K. Sharma, *A History of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its literature*, 2 vols., Bombay, 1960-61).
100. NĀRĀYANA, (Muni), *BG-arthasangraha*, 17th cent.; (ref. in M. Rangācārya, *Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. in Govt. Orient. Mss. Libr., Madras*, 1910). Also *BG-sārarakṣhā*, on Rāmānuja's com.; (ref. in S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Phil.*, 5 vols., London, 1922-55).
- NĀRĀYANA, Yajna, see SARVAJNA.
101. NĪLAKANTHA, Caturdhara, (Govindasuta), (Advaitavādi), *Bhārata-bhāvadīpa*, or *-dīpikā* (*Nīlakanthī*); see P. K. Gode, 'Some contemporary Mss. of the works of Nilakantha Caturdhara . . .', in *Jo. of Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Lib.*, 4 (1944), No. 1; ed. with MBh; G. Krishnaji Press, Bombay, 1863; Bombay, 1890; Calcutta, 1899; Calcutta, 1904; V. L. S. Pansīkar, Bombay, 1912; Citraśālā, Poona, 1929-36; S. G. S. Sadhale, 1935-38: Also *BG-bhāṣhya*; ed. with D. V. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1897-1905; V. L. S. Pansīkar, Bombay, 1912; D. Sastri, Bombay, (1918), 1938; Matnavilli, 1958. See above, p. 90. See Ben. 49, 155.
102. NIMBĀRKA, (Dvaitādvaitācārya), 13th cent. See above, p. 92. See present list No. 17, 26.
103. NYĀYĀLANKĀRA, Rāmakinkara, *MBh-īya vishamaślokatikā*.
104. OJHĀ, Madhusūdana (Jaipur, 1866-1939), *Gītābhāṣhya*.
- 104a. PADMANĀBHA-(TĪRTHA), *Bhāvadīpikā* on Madhva's com., ca. 1320; (ref. in B. N. K. Sharma, *op. cit.*).
105. PADMANĀBHA, *Prakāśikā* on Madhva's *Gītātātparya nirnaya*.
106. PADMANĀBHĀCĀRYA, C. M., *Srīgītābhāva-candrikā*; ed. Madras, 1917.

- 106a. PANCĀNANA, Viśvanātha, *Saptaślokaḡitā*, (ref. in *Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Vrindaban Research Inst.*, No. 573-5).
107. PANCOLĀCĀRYA, *BG-tīkā*, Ms. of 1844.
108. PĀNDEYA, Satyanārāyana, *Gītāmritam*.
- 108a. PANDITA, Balajinātha, 'BG-arthabodhe Vicikitsah', in *Samskrita Vimarśah*, 8 (1980), 63-67.
- PANDITA, see SŪRYA and VIŚVEŚVARA.
109. PIŚĀCA, *BG-tīkā* or *Paiśācabhāṣya*, Ms. of 1842, ("attributed to a demon" acc. to The Asiatic Soc., Calcutta, Ms. No. 672).
110. PRABHĀKARA, Umāmaheśvara, *BG-amrita*, (with Telugu tr.), Nellore, 1918.
111. PURUSHOTTAMA, Bhikshu, *BG-tīkā*.
112. PURUSHOTTAMA, Gosvāmī Mahārāja, *Amrita-(ta)ranginī*; ed. by S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38.
113. PURUSHOTTAMA, Pitāmbara, (Śuddhādvaitavādī), *Tattvapradīpatīkā*, on Vallabha's com.; ed. R. G. Bhatta, Benares, 1900.
114. PURUSHOTTAMA, Pitāmbarātmaja, *Subodhinīprakāśa*.
- RĀGHAVĀNANDA, see SARASVATĪ.
115. RĀGHAVENDRA-TĪRTHA, Yati, (Dvaitavādī, 1623-71), *Gītārthasangraha*, and/or *Gītāvivṛiti*, *Gītārthavivarana*; ed. Poona, 1886; Lallūrāma, Bombay, 1912-15; T. R. Krishnācārya, Bombay, 1914-18; Poona, 1927. See Tam. 13. Also *MBh-tātparyanirṇaya-sangraha*, or *Bhāvasangraha* on Madhva's com.; ed. by K. G. Kalkoti, Tiruchirappalli, 1967.
116. RAGHUNĀTHA, *Gītārahasyam*, (in 2080 ślokaḡ).
117. RAGHUTTAMĀCĀRYA, T. N., *Gītopanyāśadarpanam vyākhyā*, Tiruvadi, 1924.
- RĀMACANDRĀNANDA, see SARASVATĪ.
118. RĀMĀDVAYATĀTA, *BG-tīkā*.
119. RĀMAKANTHA, Rājānaka, Bhatta (1100-1130 Kāśmīrī), *BG-bhāṣya* or *vivarana*; ed. by M. Kaul, (Kashmir Text and Stud., 78), 1943.
120. RĀMAKANTHA, Rājānaka, Rāmakavi (end 9th cent.), *Sarvato-bhadra vyākhyā*; ed. as a Kashmirian recension, S. N. Tadapatrikar, (Ānandāśrama Sanskr. Ser., 112), Poona, 1931; T. R. Cintamani, (Madras Univ. Sanskrit Ser., 14), 1941; M. Kaul (Kashmir Texts and Stud., 64), 1943.
121. RĀMAKRISHNA, *MBh-tīkā*.
122. RĀMAKRISHNA (-TĪRTHA), *BG-tīkā*, ca. 1375; (ref. in *Cat. of Mss. in Libr. of Benares Sanskrit College*). See present list No. 9.
123. RĀMĀNANDA, *Śāṅkarabhāṣya-tīkā* (and own *Gītāśaya*?). See present list No. 20.
124. RĀMĀNANDA-TĪRTHA, (Advaitavādī, 17th cent.), *Gītādisāratīkā*; (ref. in R. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Calcutta, 1871-90).
125. RĀMANĀRĀYANA, *BG-prakāśinī* (ref. in *Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Vrindaban Research Inst.*, No. 539).
126. RĀMĀNUJA, (Viśiṣṭādvaitācārya, 1017 or 1056-1137), *BG-bhāṣya* or *Sāragītābhāṣya*; ed. (in Telugu char.), Madras, 1873; M. Tarkaratna, Calcutta, 1881; D. Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1897-1905; V. Sastri, Bombay, 1903; A. Miśra, Benares, 1905-9; M. Rangacarya e.a. (Sri Vani Vilas Ser., 3), 1907; A. Narasimhacarya, Madras, 1908-11; C. Sundararāma (in Telugu char.), Madras, 1911-16; D. Sastri, Bombay, 1918; S. Marulakara Apte (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Ser., 92), Poona, 1923; (in Grantha char.), Kumbakonam, 1928; S. Sadhale,



- Bombay, 1935-38; P. Anangacarya, Conjeevaram, 1956; ... See above, p. 90. See Hin. 48, 98; Braj. 7; Ben. 11, 155, 179, 240; Tel. 21, 82; Tam. 4, 13, 36, 48, 52; Kan. 50, 70; Eng. 63, 104, 118, 129, 210. See present list No. 16, 100, 206.
127. RĀMĀNUJA, (Telugu grammarian), *MBh-saṅkshapatikā* or *-vyākhyāpradīpa*. Also *Vishamślokatikā* or *Bhāvārthadīpikā* on *Bhīṣma-parvan*.
128. RĀMAPRAPANNADĀSA, Vanaparti, *Gītāmritabodhinī* (Theos. Soc.), Adyar, Madras, 1908.
129. RĀMARĀYA-KAVI, Bellamkonda, (1875-1935), *BG-bhāshyārka-prakāśikā* on Śankara's com.; ed. by Venkata Ramayya, Bezwada, 1917. Also *BG-bhāshyārthaprakāśa*, on Ānandagiri's com., ed. (in Telugu char.), Bezwada, 1918; com. by K. S. R. Datta.
130. RĀMESVARĀNANDA, *Anubhavārthadīpikā bhāṣhā-bhāshya*; ed. as *Gītādarpana* by Swāmī Ātmānanda Muni (in Hindi), Ajmer, 1944.
131. RANGANĀTHA, (disciple of Krishnānanda Sarasvatī), *BG-tīkā vyākhyā* on Madhusūdana's com.
132. RANTIDEVA, *BG-tīkā*.
133. RATNAGARBHA, *Akūtacandrikā MBh-tīkā*.
134. RĀYA, Gauragovinda, *BG samanvayabhāshya*, (chs. 1-6).  
— RĀYA, see KALYĀNA.
135. SADĀNANDA, Vyāsa, (Advaitavādī), *Bhāvaprakāśa*, ca. 1780; (ref. in F. Hall, *A Contribution toward an Index to the Bibliogr. of the Ind. Phil. Syst.*, Calcutta, 1859). Also *MBh-tātparyaprakāśa*.
136. SADĀNANDA, Yogindra, (Advaitavādī), *Bhāvaprakāśa*, ca. 1500; ed. at Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1886; Lallūrāma, Bombay, 1912-13.
137. SADĀŚIVA, *Bhāratasangraha*.
138. ŚANKARA, (ĀDĪ-, Bhagavatpadācarya, Jagadguru, Advaitācārya, prob. 1st half of 8th cent.), *BG-bhāshya*; ed. by J. Sukla, Calcutta, 1853; S. K. Sastri, Madras, 1865; H. Miśra, Calcutta, 1873; J. Vidya-sagara, Calcutta, 1879; K. Simha, Calcutta, 1884; T. Tatacarya (in Grantha script), Madras, 1884; M. Tarkacudamani, Dacca, 1885; S. Gondhalekar, Poona, 1886; P. Sastri, Calcutta, 1886; U. Tripathi, Lucknow, 1888; (in Telugu script), Bangalore, 1889; K. S. Agase and V. G. Āpate, (Ānandāśrama Skt. Ser., 34), Poona, (1896), 1908; D. V. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1897-1900; A. P. Miśra, Benares, 1905-9; S. Sarma (with Tamil tr.), Madras, 1906; (in Grantha and Tamil scripts), Madras, 1907; A. V. and T. C. Narasimhacarya, Madras, 1908-11; G. Banu (with Marathi expl.), Poona, 1909-10; T. Balasubrahmanyam, 1910; C. Sundararāma (in Telugu script), Madras, 1911-16; V. Pansikar, Bombay, 1912; P. Tarkabhūshana (with Bengali tr.), Calcutta, 1913 (2nd); P. Venkataramayya, Bezwada, 1917; D. Sastri, Bombay, 1918; K. Mahodaya, Calcutta, 1918-19; V. V. Bapat, Poona, 1921; M. S. Tripathi, Bombay, 1926; S. Mitra (ch. 2, with English tr.), Calcutta, 1929; D. V. Gokhale (crit. ed., Poona Oriental Ser., 1), 1931; S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1936-38; Mot. Banarsidass, Delhi, 1964; E. S. V. Pattamaly and J. L. Shastri (with English tr.), Mot. Banarsidass, Delhi, 1982. See above, p. 89. See Hin. 38, 48, 99, 140, 162, 163, 200, 217, 243, 257, 267; Pun. 7; Ben. 62, 63, 117, 143, 149, 152, 155, 220, 230, 231, 236, 238, 239, 240, 268; Mar. 22, 26, 81; Tel. 15, 21, 82, 84, 90; Tam. 4, 13, 55; Mal. 14; Eng. 27, 154, 158, 174; Italian 10... See also present list No. 12, 61, 70, 129, 180.

139. ŚANKARĀNANDA, Sarasvatī, (Advaitavādī, end 13th cent.), *Tātparyabodhinī* or *Śankarānandī*; ed. Bombay, 1876, 1891; A. V. and T. C. Narasimhacarya, Madras, 1908-11; Lallurama, Bombay, 1912-13; V. Śarmā, Bombay, 1916. See Hin. 56; Mal. 19.
140. SARASVATĪ, Ātmānanda, (Advaitavādī), *BG-rahasya*. See Guj. 74. Also *BG-sārasangraha*, by a follower of Sarasvatī.
141. SARASVATĪ, Kaivalyānanda, *BG-sāra*.
142. SARASVATĪ, Krishnānanda, *Gītāsāroddhāra*, Bombay, 1892, (a *Kaivalyagāthā* in 18 chs. on Vedānta and Vishnubhakti acc. to the BG). See present list No. 131.
- SARASVATĪ, see MADHUSŪDANA.
143. SARASVATĪ, Rāghavānanda, (Advaitavādī), *Gītā-tattvārthacandrikā*, ca. 1600.
144. SARASVATĪ, Rāmacandra(-ānanda), Bhāratī, (Advaitavādī), *BG-padyojanākhyāvyākhyā* or *padayojanikā*.
145. SARASVATĪ, Rāmacandra, *Gītā-tātparyapariśuddhi*.
- 145a. SARASVATĪ, Saccidānandendra, *Gītā-śāstrārthaviveka*, (Ādhyātmaprakāśa Kāryālaya), Holenarsipur, 1965.
- SARASVATĪ, see UPANISHAD-BRAHMAYOGĪ.
146. ŚARMĀ, Ātmarāma, *SBGītāryāsaptasatī*, Bombay, 1904.
147. ŚARMĀ, Devadatta, *BG-ārtha-vivecanā-prakarana*; ed. in *Vedānta-sidhānta-mata-mārtanda*, (Jamuna Pr. Wks.), Muttra, 1927.
148. ŚARMĀ, Dharmadatta, *Vaccāśarmā Jhā*, (1860-1918, Maithila), *Gūdhārthatattvāloka*, on Madhusūdana's com.; ed. by V. Pansikar, Bombay, 1912.
149. ŚARMĀ, Madhusūdana, *SBG-vijnānabhāṣya*, 3 parts: *rahasyakānda*, *mūlakānda*, *ācāryakānda*; ed. by G. Śarmā Caturvedī, (for Jaipur State Sanskrit College), sev. vols., Allahabad, 1936.
- ŚARMĀ, Mahādeva, see JNĀNEŚVARA.
- 149a. ŚARMA, Śrīmādhava, *Śrīgītārthaprakāśa*, see Hindi 214a.
150. ŚARMĀ, Sūryanārāyana, Srirangam, *BG-sāra-sankīrtana*; ed. with Telugu tr., (Vavilla Press), Madras, 1925.
151. SARVAJNA, Nārāyana (Yajnanārāyana), *Bhāratatātparyasangraha* or *MBh-ārtha-prakāśikā*, *Bhāratavivarana-Bhāvadīpa*, end 12th cent.
152. ŚĀSTRĪ, Ananta Krishna, *BG, bhāratīyadarśanāni- ca*, (Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan), Bombay, 1944; also in *All India Orient. Conf.*, 2 (1922), Summary, p. LVIII.
153. ŚĀSTRĪ, (Pandita) Dayārāma (of Śrīnagar), *BG-tikā*.
154. ŚĀSTRĪ, Dhundarāja, *Gītārthadīpikā*; Engl. com. appeared in *The Pandit*, (Benares), 1914-19.
155. ŚĀSTRĪ, Gayāprasāda, Śrīhari, *Bāla-bodhinī tikā* and *Gītārthacandrikā bhāṣhā-tikā*, Allahabad, 1926. Also *Gītātātparyabodhinī* in Sanskrit and Hindi.
156. ŚĀSTRĪ, Keśava, *BG pratīkānukrama*, (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1919.
157. ŚĀSTRĪ, Narottama Motīrāma, *Gītācaritryam*, (Śuddhādvaita Sanskrit Granthamālā, 58), 1958.
158. ŚĀSTRĪ, Prasanna Kumāra, *BG-saralārthaprabodhinī*, together with S. Tarkacūdāmani's Bengali tr. and com., Calcutta, 1912. Also printed as *Vyākhyānvaya* with other great commentaries, e.g. (Kalikā Press), Calcutta, 1893.
159. ŚĀSTRĪ, Raghunātha, *BG-tikā*, Bombay, 1860.



160. ŚĀSTRĪ, Rājavidya Jivarāma Kālidāsa, *Siddhidātrī*-gloss; in Engl. rendering (Rasaśālā Aushadhāśram), Gondal-Kāthiāwār, 1937. Also with *Candraghantā* com. on BG chs. 1-3, in Sanskrit and English.
- 160a. ŚĀSTRĪ, N. Sarvamangaleśvara, (1759-1839), *BG-vyākhyā*, Vijayanagaram.
161. ŚĀSTRĪ, Sītārāma, *Gītā-bhagavadbhakti-mīmāṃsā*.
162. ŚĀSTRĪ, Subrahmanya, *BG-sārasaṅgraha*; ed. with Śrīdhara's com. and Malayalam tr., (S.R.K. Press), Elapulli, 1905. Also with Śankara's com., (Mahesh Research Inst.), Varanasi, 2 vols.
163. ŚĀSTRĪ, Vāsudeva, *SBG, prathamadvitīyādhyāyau*, (com. on chs. 1-2, from his *Advaitāṅkura* com., rev. by Śankara Sāstrī Mārūlakara, ed. by V. G. Apate), (Ānandāśrama Ser., 109), Benares, 1938.
164. SATYĀBHĪNAVA-TĪRTHA, *MBh-tātparyanirnaya-vyākhyā*, on Madhva's com.; (ref. in B. N. K. Sharma, *A Hist. of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its Lit.*, Bombay, 1960-61).
165. SATYAPRAJNA, (disciple of Dvaitavādī Satyavratatīrtha), *BG-bhāvaprakāśa*.
166. SIDDHAPPĀRĀDHYA, T. G., *BG-vīraśaivabhāshya*, (Murugharājendra Vidyāpīṭha), Mysore, 1962; 1965, 2 vols.
167. [SIMHA, Mahārāja Ranavīra], *BG*-Ms. of 3304 folios, with 18 commentaries after each *śloka*, followed by *Ranavīrasamudbodhanī* com. and Hindi tr., ca. 1860. See 1.3.b.
168. SĪTĀNĀTHA, Tattvabhūshana and VEDĀNTABHŪSHANA, Śrīcandra, "Bhagavataratna", *BG*, with easy Sanskrit annotations and literal English tr., (Brahma Mission Press), Calcutta, 1929.
169. ŚIVADAYĀLA, *Gītātikā*; (ref. in A. Holtzmann).
- ŚIVĀNANDA, see SVĀMĪ, S. S.
170. ŚRĪDHARA, Svāmī, Śivadayālu, (Advaitavādī with Vedantic bhakti, 1350-1450?), *Subodhinī* or *Śrīdharī*; ed. by J. Sukla (with Bengali com. of B. H. Miśra), Calcutta, 1853; H. Miśra, Calcutta, 1873; J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1879; K. Simha, Calcutta, 1884; M. Tarkacudamani, Dacca, 1885; V. Tripathi, Lucknow, 1888; A. P. Miśra, Benares, 1905-9; C. Sundararāma (in Telugu char.), Madras, 1911-16; Lallurama, Bombay, 1912-15; V. Pansīkar, Bombay, 1912; V. Śarmā, Bombay, 1925; S. Mitra (ch. 11 with A. Besant's Eng. tr.), Calcutta, 1929; Bombay, 1935-36;... Also *Gītāsāratikā brahmasambodhinī*. See above, p. 90. See Hin. 52, 63b, 130, 140, 243, 258; Braj. 20; Ben. 11, 40, 50, 53, 62, 63, 84, 104, 116, 117, 121, 126, 133, 149, 152, 155, 177, 188, 195, 220, 230, 231, 238, 240, 242, 243, 271; Guj. 40, 94; Mar. 116; Tel. 5, 55, 82; Mal. 47; Eng. 21, 27, 215, 264. See present list No. 162.
171. ŚRĪKRISHNĀNANDA, Svāmī, Paramhamsa, (Advaitavādī), *Śrīgītā-rahasya, -arthaprakāśa, -arthaparāmarśa, -sāroddhāra*, (4 essays), Rajkot, ca. 1910.
172. ŚRĪNIVĀSA, *Kiranāvalī*; ed. by T. R. Krishnacarya, Bombay, 1905.
173. ŚRĪNIVĀSA, (Dvaitavādī), *BG-bhāshyatīkāvrīti* or *-bhāvārthadīpikā*, on Madhva's com.
- 173a. SRISHTIDHARA, *MBh-tīkā*.
174. SUBBĀCĀRYA, Tāmraparnī, *Śeṣha śrīgītā-bhāvacandrikā*; ed. by Śrī Hanumantācārya, 2 vols., (Bharati Vijayam Press), Madras, 1967.
- 174a. SUBBARĀYA (1836-1918), *Gītābhāshya*.

175. SUDARŚANĀCĀRYA, Sāstri (Viśishtādvaitavādi), *BG* with *Tattvārtha-sudarśanī* com., see Hin. 229.
176. SUMATĪNDRA-TĪRTHA, (disciple of Surendra Tīrtha), *SBG-bhāvāratnakōśa*, ed. by T. R. Krishnacharya with Ānandatīrtha and Jayatīrtha's com., (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1917-18.
177. SŪRI, Aracanda, *MBh-kathā*, according to Jain view, 12th cent. See AMARACANDRA?
178. SŪRI, Devaprabhā, *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, according to Jain view.
179. SŪRI, Dhanapati, Kumāra, (Advaitavādi), *Bhāshyotkarsha-dīpikā*, ca. 1811; ed. Ratnagiri, 1880; J. Lallurama, Bombay, 1912-15; V. Pansikar, 1912.
180. SŪRYA, Daivajna, Pandita, (Advaitavādi), *Paramārthaprapā* on Śankara's com., ca. 1440; ed. S. J. Gondhalekar, Poona, 1886; C. Sundararāma (in Telugu char.), Madras, 1911-16; J. Lallurama, Bombay, 1912-13.
181. SVĀMĪ, Bālasubrahmanya, *Tātparyadīpikā*, with Tamil paraphrase, Madras, 1926.
182. SVĀMĪ, Śivānanda Sarasvatī, *Gītā-nididhyāsana*, tr. by Muktarāni, (Yogavedānta Āraṇya Viśvavidyālaya), Rishikesh, 1955.
183. SVĀMĪ, Trivikamatīrtha, *Gītāmarmānuśāsanam*, (Karnataka Pr. Pr.), Bombay, 1922.
- 183a. SVĀMĪ, Virupākshavadiyara, *BG-amritabhāshyam*, (ch. 1), ca. 1950.
184. SVATANTRĀNANDA, *Tattvadarśinī*, Paliya-Ajamgad.
185. SVAYAMŚARMĀ, *Svayam-vimarśa*, (Gītārāma Press), Benares, 1926-27.
- 185a. "TĀMRAPARNĪ", *MBh-tātparyanirnaya-vyākhyā*. Also *Nyāya-dīpikā* Gītā-com.
186. TARKĀLANKĀRA, Jagadīśa, *Gītā-rahasyaprakāśa*.
187. THAKKURA, Bhaktivinoda, *Vidvadrānjana*, on Baladeva's com., Calcutta, 1924; see No. 208.
188. THAKKURA, Nrisimha, *Gītārthasangati-nibandha*.
189. THAKKURA, Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Gosvāmī, *Sārārtha-varshinī*, ed. with S. K. Datta's Bengali tr. and com., (Śrī-Śrīcaitanya Press), Calcutta, 1885.
190. TIMMAYA-DANDANĀTHA, *Bālābhārata-vyākhyā* or *Manoharā*, on Agastya's *Bālābhārata*.  
— TĪRTHA, see NARAHARI; PADMANĀBHA; RĀGHAVENDRA; RĀMĀNANDA; SATYĀBHINAVA; SUMATĪNDRA; VĀDIRĀJA; VIDYĀDHIRĀJA; VYĀSA.
191. TĪRTHA-SVĀMĪ, Śrī Satyadhyāna (Mahārāja of Uttaradimatha), *Gītāsārasangraha*; tr. by R. A. Katgeri, Belgaum, 1937.
- 191a. TRIPĀTHĪ, Kedāranātha, 'Gītāyām Sāṅkhyayogam', in *Prajñā*, Varanasi, 15 (1970), 146-51.
192. TRIPĀTHĪ, Surendra Nārāyana, 'SBGītāyām virodhābhāsah', in *All India Orient. Conf.*, 29 (1978), 349-50.
193. TURĪYA-SVĀMĪ, *BG-vyākhyā*; with abridged Bengali tr. by Gītā-dhyāyī, Calcutta, 1928. See Ben. 117.
194. UPANISHAD BRAHMAYOGĪ, Rāmacandrendra Sarasvatī, *BG-arthaprakāśikā*, ca. 1751; ed. Adyar-Madras, 1941; re-ed. by the Pandits of the Adyar Libr. and Research Centre, (introd. by C. Kunhan Raja), Madras, 1982.  
— VACCĀ, see ŚARMĀ, Dharmadatta.
195. VĀDIRĀJA, *Śrī bhāvaprakāśikā MBh-tīkā*, Udipi, 1952.



196. VĀDIRĀJA, Svāmī, Tirtha, (Dvaitavādī), *Lakshālankāra MBh-tikā*, esp. *Bhīshmaparvan* with *Gītālakshābharana*; ed. at Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1914.
- 196a. VAIDIKAMUNI, Svāmī Hariprasāda, *SB-Gītōpanishad-vaidika bhāṣhya*, Lahore, n.d.
197. VALLABHA, (Śuddhādvaitācārya, 1473-1531), *Tattvārthadīpa* or *Tattvadīpa-nibandha*, *Tattvadīpikā*; ed. by R. Bhatta, Benares, 1900; N. R. Sastri, Bombay, 1904; R. Bhatta (Caukhamba Sanskrit Ser., 40), Benares, 1911; S. Sadhale, 1935-38. See above, p. 93. See Guj. 16. See also present list No. 15, 113, 197a.
- 197a. [VALLABHA], (fifth grandson of Vallabha), *Tattvadīpikā-prakāśa*, gloss on Vallabha's com. Also *BG-amritataranginī*, by a follower of Vallabhācārya.
198. VĀMANA, Pandita Sūrī, *Yathārthadīpikā* or *Vāmanī*; ed. at Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1892; (Kāvysangraha Series), 1896, 1903.  
— VANAMALI, see MĪŚRA, V.
199. VARADARAJAH, *MBh-tātparyanirnaya-vyākhyā*.
200. VARAVARAMUNI, Saumyajāmātrimuni, (Viśishtādvaitavādī, 16th cent.), *Gītārthasangraha-dīpikā*, on Yāmuna's com.; ed. by P. Ananthachariar, Kanchipuram, 1906.
201. VARDHANA, Ānanda, *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*; ed. by S. K. Belvalkar, discussing the problem of the Kashmir-recension, (Bilvakunja Publ. H.), Poona, 1941.
202. VARMĀ, Sāvaliyā Bihārīlāla, ed., *Gītā viśvakośa*, vol. 1: *Samanvayavādī bhāṣhya*, (Samskrita Samsthāna), Bareilly, 1975.
203. VASĀKENA, Lakshminārāyana, *Saptaśloki-gītā* (Samvāda-jñāna-ratnākara Press), Calcutta, 1872.  
— VEDĀNTABHŪSHANA, see SĪTĀNĀTHA, T.  
— VEDĀNTĀCĀRYA, see VENKATANĀTHA, V.
204. VEDA VĀGĪSHA, Vedānanda, *BG jyotishmatī-tikā*; see Hindi 277a.
205. VENKATANĀTHA, Gauda Brahmānanda, *Brahmānandagiri-vyākhyā*; ed. at Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912; S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38.
206. VENKATANĀTHA, Vedānta Deśika called Nigamānta Mahādeśika, (Viśishtādvaitavādī, 1268-1369 or 1348-1420), *Gītārthasangraha-rakṣhā*, on Yāmuna's com.; ed. by S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38; P. Ananthachariar, Kanchipuram, 1961. See above, p. 90. See Tam. 36.  
— VENKATANĀTHA, Vedānta Deśika called Kavīṭarkika śimha sarvatantra-svatantra, *Tātparyacandrikā*, on Rāmānuja's com.; ed. in Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Ser., 92, Poona, 1923; S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38.
207. VIDVAT, Sadānanda, *MBh-tātparyaprakāśa*. Also *Bhāvaprakāśa BG-tikā*, ca. 1780.
208. VIDYĀBHŪSHANA, Baladeva, Śrīlā-, (disciple of Viśvanātha Cakravartī, 1720-90), *Gītā-bhāṣhana-bhāṣhya*; ed. by D. Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1897-1905; B. Thakkura, Calcutta, 1924; D. Devaśarma (with Bengali tr.); Bhakti Śrīrūpa Siddhāntī-gosvāmī, Calcutta, 1967. See Ben. 155. See also present list No. 187.
209. VIDYĀDHIRĀJA, Krishnabhatta, *Mādhvabhāṣhya-tikā*. See present list No. 27.
210. VIDYĀDHIRĀJA, Tirtha, (1388-1412), *BG-vivṛitti*; (ref. in B. N. K. Sharma, *A Hist. of the dvaita school of Vedānta and its Lit.*, Bombay, 1960-61). See No. 27.

- 210a. VIDYĀRATI, *BG-tīkā*; (ref. in A. Holtzmann).
211. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Ānandapūrṇa, Munindra, *MBh-vyākhyā-ratnāvali* or *Jayakaumudī*, ca. 1350.
- 211a. VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA, Rāmarūpa, see No. 212.
212. VIDYĀVINODA, Vinodavīhārīn and VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA, Rāmarūpa, *BG-tīkā*, (with Bengali tr.), (Gupta Press), Calcutta, 1918.
213. VIJNĀNA-BHIKSHU, *BG-tīkā*, beginning 17th cent.
214. VIMALABODHA, (12th cent.), *MBh-tippaṇī durghatārthaprakāśinī* or *MBh-vishamaśloka-tippaṇī*, *Durbodhapadabhanjanī*, on difficult passages.
215. VIŚVEŚVARA, Pandita, *BG-tīkā*; (ref. in G. Buhler, *A Cat. of Sanskrit Mss.*, Bombay, 1871-73).
216. VISHNU, Ananta, *Gīrvāna-jñāneśvarī*, (Marathi into Sanskrit), (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), 2 vols., Bombay 1931.
- 216a. VITTHALABODHA, *MBh-vishamaśloka satīkā*.
217. VITTHALA(NĀTHA), (Śuddhādvaitavādī), *Gītārtha-vivarana* with *Gītātātparya* and *Nyāsādeśa* on BG 18.66. See DĪKSHITA, No. 49.
218. VITTHALEŚVARA, (son of Vallabha?), *Gītā-hetu-nirnaya*. See DĪKSHITA.
219. [VITTHALEŚVARA], (follower of Vitthaleśvara?), *Tattvadīpikā*.
220. "VRITTIKĀRA", *BG-tīkā*, referred to by Ānandagiri.  
— VYĀSA, see SADĀNANDA.
221. VYĀSA-TĪRTHA, (1370-1400), *MBh-tātparyanirnaya-tīkā*, on Madhva's com.; (ref. in B. N. K. Sharma, *op. cit.*).
222. YADAPRAKĀŚA, *BG-tīkā*.
223. YĀDAVENDRA, Krishnamatānuyāyī, *BG-krishnatoshanī-tīkā*, Kumbakonam, 1899.  
— YAJNANĀRĀYANA, see SARVAJNA.
224. YĀMUNA, Muni, Ālavandāra, (Viśishtādvaitācārya, 918-1038), *Gītārthasangraha* (32 ślokas); ed. by D. Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1897-1905; A. Tatacharya and K. Nayudu (with Tamil tr.), Madras, 1899; P. Ananthachariar, Kanchipuram, 1901, (1961); R. Sastri (in Grantha char.), Palghat, 1905; Vrindāvana, 1917; S. Marulakara, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Ser., 92), Poona, 1923; S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1935-38. See above, p. 90. See Ben. 155; Tel. 21, 82; Tam. 4, 13, 20, 36, 48, 68, 76, 82; Kan. 50; Eng. 12, 55; also tr. into English in *The Brahmavādin*, 17 (1912), 372-79, and by J. Van Buitenen, in his *Rāmānuja on BG*, 1953, Appendix. See also present list No. 200, 205, 225.
225. YATHĀCĀRYA, Pratyaksha Deva, *Gītārthasangraha-tīkā*, on Yāmuna's com.
226. YATI, Brahmendra, (Advaitavādī), *BG-prabodhacandrikā*.  
— YATI, see RĀGHAVENDRA-TĪRTHA.
227. YOGĪ, Śrī Hamsa, (pseudonym of Śuddha Dharma Mandala Office), *BG-tīkā*; ed. by K. T. Srinivasachariar, (Śuddha Dharma Mandala Ser., 8), Madras, 1922-24. Also *Nara-nārāyana-dharma-gītā* (as a complementary, publ. after 30 years), ed. by Śrī Janārdhana, (Śuddha Dharma Mandala), Madras, 1953. See present list No. 56.



## CHAPTER IV

### TRANSLATIONS INTO INDIAN LANGUAGES

#### 4.0. Introduction

The mere figure 75 for the number of languages into which the BG has been translated does not impress one if compared with the total of about 2,800 languages spoken in the world<sup>1</sup>. But it must be remembered that this huge figure includes some 1,200 languages of American Indian tribes<sup>2</sup> and about as many minor languages spoken in hilly areas and tiny islands from Africa to Australia and in the Pacific Ocean. According to 1977 estimates, only 14 languages are spoken by more than 50 million people, viz. Chinese, English, Spanish, Russian, Hindi, Japanese, Persian, German, Bengali, Portuguese, Arabic, French, Italian and Bahasa Indonesia. The number of major languages spoken by at least one million people hardly exceeds 160. Katzner<sup>3</sup> states that fewer than 100 languages are spoken by over 95 per cent of the earth's population. Half of the world's population speaks one of the 14 languages mentioned above. Nida<sup>4</sup> remarks, however, that the sum of the speakers of the first hundred languages would give a figure exceeding the total population of the earth, the reason being that many people speak two or more of these languages.

In 1787 Pallas published a comparative vocabulary of 200 languages, *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*, and in 1805 Hervas added 100 more from America. Adelung published *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde* in 1817, with the Lord's Prayer in 500 languages; Berg-

1. In M. A. PEI (*The World's Chief Languages*, [formerly: *Languages for War and Peace*], London, 3rd ed., 1961). Gray's assessment is mentioned of 2,796 present-day spoken languages. See also PEI, *The Story of Language*, London, 1966 (rev.).

In the alphabetical index of languages of C. F. and F. M. VOEGELIN, *Classification and Index of the World's Languages*, Elsevier, New York, Amsterdam, 1977, about 2,168 languages and dialects are enumerated.

2. "When Wurm encounters a couple of hundred Amto near the Upper Sepik River in New Guinea he may safely conclude that they all speak Amto, but when one encounters a couple of hundred Tewa in Arizona one can be much less certain how many actually speak Tewa", VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

3. K. KATZNER, *The languages of the World*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1977.

4. E. NIDA, 'Varieties of Language', in *The Bible Translator*, 23 (1972), 316.

holtz gives 187 entries (from Acra to Zulu) of this prayer, printed in the original type and vernacular of the translation<sup>5</sup>.

The British and Foreign Bible Society printed *The Gospel in Many Tongues, Specimens of 875 languages in which the BFBS has published or circulated some portion of the Bible* (London, 1965). The United Bible Societies produced *Scriptures of the world, A Compilation of 1,431 languages in which at least one book of the Bible has been published* (Library of American Bible Society, 1970). The languages and their publications are presented in alphabetical, chronological and geographical order (with maps)<sup>6</sup>.

For the present purpose any type of classification can be justified and yet has disadvantages. We classified the Indian languages in four groups<sup>7</sup>, going from West to East (Kashmiri to Assamese) and North to South (ending with Malayalam near Cape Comorin and Sinhala in Śrī Lankā).

A separate chapter is devoted to English, not only on account of the huge number of different translations, but also because English has been the source-language for a number of translations into European languages (and even into Hindi). For the classification of the European and Asian languages we follow the division into groups given by Voegelin<sup>8</sup>.

In 1894-1921 Sir George Grierson prepared a monumental linguistic survey of India, listing 179 languages and 544 dialects<sup>9</sup>. Out of the 179 'languages', 116 are small tribal speeches of the Sino-Tibetan border in North-East India.

5. G. BERGHOLTZ, *The Lord's Prayer in the principal Languages, Dialects and Versions of the World*, Chicago-Illinois, 1884. In the Pater Noster Church on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem, the text in about 60 languages is carved in marble.

6. See also E. NIDA, *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, London, (1939), (rev. ed.) 1972. The actual figure is now above 1,660 languages, see Introduction, p. 1.

7. Based on VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*; J. E. SCHWARZBERG, *A Historical Atlas of South-Asia*, Chicago, 1978, plate X.B.1, p. 100.

See also R. J. L. BRETON, *Les Langues de l'Inde depuis l'Indépendance*, Aix-en-Provence, 2nd rev. ed., 1969.

8. *Op. cit.*, passim.

9. G. A. GRIERSON, *Linguistic Survey of India*, 11 vols. (1927), repr. Delhi, 1973. In the collection of specimens no reference is made to the BG; rather, the passage of the prodigal son in the Bible is given, as this was easily available from the translations of the Bible Society.

For more details we refer to the following works :

K. SANTHANAM, ed., *An Anthology of Indian Literature*, New Delhi, Bombay, 1969; A. SARKAR, *Handbook of Languages and Dialects of India*, Calcutta, 1964 (in this work Bengali-Urdu-Sindhi are called 'Indo-Pak' languages and Tamil



A decennial census of India has been made since 1881. The language report of 1921 (for India and Burma) lists only 188 languages and 49 dialects. The Census of 1961 reported 1,652 mother-tongues but only 25 of them were used for teaching up to secondary level. The 1971 Survey gives a figure of 283 languages with more than 5,000 speakers, of which only 43 have more than 500,000 speakers.

Fourteen major regional languages of India have been recognized by the Constitution of India (8th schedule, arts. 343-351) as national languages: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Sindhi has been added to the list by the 21st amendment (1966).

#### a. General survey of Gītā-translations

After each language in the list below we give the approximate number of translations of the BG and the date of the first dated translation:

#### Translations into Indian languages (TOTAL: 1,412)

##### Indo-Aryan group (TOTAL: 1,041)

1. (Sanskrit, as original text paraphrased in hundreds of commentaries)
2. (Prakrit, within the first vernacular recensions of the MBh)
3. Hindi (313), ?...1802
4. Urdu (28), ?...1905
5. Kashmiri (2), ?...1959
6. Punjabi (24), ?...1902
7. Dogri (4), 1934
8. Sindhi (26), ?...1818, 1893
9. Marvari (Rajasthani) (10), ?...1960
10. Mevari (3), 1900

is an 'Indo-Ceylonese' language); V. NARASIMHAN, e.a., eds., *The Languages of India. A Kaleidoscopic Survey*, Madras, 1958; R. C. NIGAM, *Language Handbook on mother-tongues in Census, Census Centenary Monograph 10*, Census of India, 1971; id., compiler, *Grammatical Sketches of Indian Languages, with comparative vocabulary and texts* (part I), Census of India, 1971, series 1: Language Monograph, No. 2 (with illustrative material of Sanskrit, Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi, Marathi); S. M. KATRE, *Introduction to modern Indian linguistics*, Un. of Gauhati, 1961; R. HUGONOT, ed., *A Bibliographical Index to the lesser known languages and dialects of India and Nepal*, The Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1970; Linguistic Survey of India Series, 9 vols. published till 1971, Deccan College, Poona; *The National Bibliography of Indian Literature* 1901-53, New Delhi, 4 vols.

11. Malvi (1), 1978
12. Braj (30), 1320, 1643
13. Kanaui (1), ?...1818
14. Kumaoni (2), 1908
15. Nepali (9), 1878
16. Avadhi (3), ?...1943
17. Bhojpuri (1), 1977
18. Maithili (5), 1615, 1965
19. Bengali (284), ?...1776
20. Assamese (23), ?...1818, 1874
21. Oriya (43), ?...1818, 1895
22. Gujarati (97), 1620
23. Marathi (132), 1290
24. Konkani (4), 1962
25. Sinhala (1), 1956

**Dravidian group (TOTAL: 365)**

26. Telugu (151), ?...1842
27. Tamil (76), ?...1881
28. Kannada (86), ?...1705, 1849
29. Malayalam (52), 1400

**Mon-Khmer group**

30. Khasi (1), 1903

**Tibeto-Burmese group**

31. Manipuri (and Tripuri) (1)
32. Tibetan (2)

**Munda group**

33. Ho-Mundari (1)
34. Santali (1)

**Translations into English**

35. English (273), 1785

**Translations into other languages (TOTAL: 191)**

**Western Classics**

36. Latin (3), 1820
37. Modern Greek (1), 1802

**Germanic group (besides English)**

38. German (28), 1802
39. Yiddish (1), 1955
40. Dutch (19), 1861
41. Swedish (7), 1922
42. Norwegian (1), 1971
43. Danish (3), 1912
44. Icelandic (2), 1924



**Romanic group**

- 45. French (25), 1787
- 46. French Creole (2), 1957
- 47. Spanish (13), 1893
- 48. Portuguese (3), 1558, 1936
- 49. Italian (19), 1859
- 50. Rumanian (5), 1897

**Slavic group**

- 51. Russian (5), 1788
- 52. Polish (3), 1910
- 53. Czech (2), 1945
- 54. Slovak (1), 1935
- 55. Slovenian (1), 1970
- 56. Serbocroatian (and Bulgarian) (3), 1929

**Baltic group**

- 57. Lithuanian (1), 1947

**Caucasian group**

- 58. Georgian (1), 1963

**Uralic group**

- 59. Finnish (1), 1975
- 60. Hungarian (4), 1887

**Interlingual group**

- 61. Esperanto (2), 1921

**Isolated language group**

- 62. Chinese (1), 1979

**Altaic group**

- 63. Japanese (4), 1921
- 64. Mongolian (and Uzbek) (2), 1970

**Semitic group**

- 65. Arabic (3), 1030, 1960
- 66. Hebrew (2), 1956

**Iranian group**

- 67. Persian (12), 1600

**West-Indonesian group**

- 68. Old Javanese (1), 1000
- 69. Javanese (and Sundanese) (2), 1955
- 70. Bahasa Indonesia (Malay) (3), 1957
- 71. Balinese (1)
- 72. Malagasy (2), 1939

**Kam-Tai group**

- 73. Tai (Thai) (2), 1972

**GRAND TOTAL:** about 1,891 translations in about 75 languages.

b. Comparative survey of Gītā-translations<sup>10</sup>

In the bar-graph below an idea is given of the proportion of translations of the Gītā in comparison with the total amount of speakers. For the languages selected here, the total population (562 million) and the total number of translations (1,406) are considered as 100 per cent. For each language the top-bar indicates the approximate number of speakers (in millions) and the lower bar gives the number of translations. In comparison with the number of speakers, we have a high number of translations in Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Telugu, Kannada, (and Malayalam) and fewer in Hindi and Punjabi.

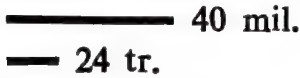
## ■ Hindi (without Rajasthani, etc.)



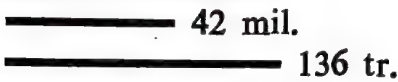
## ■ Bengali (also in Bangladesh)



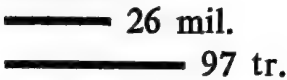
## ■ Punjabi (also in Pakistan)



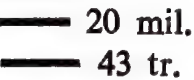
## ■ Marathi-Konkani



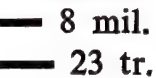
## ■ Gujarati



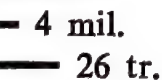
## ■ Oriya



## ■ Assamese



## ■ Sindhi



10. For a visual illustration of different Gītā-translations, see "The One Song in Many Tongues", a tabulation of BG 18:66 reproduced in 30 languages and 15 scripts (as an introduction to the one-volume edition of Svami CHINMAYANANDA's *The Holy Geeta*, Central Mission Trust, Bombay, 1981). An illustration of BG 1:1 in different Indian scripts is found in S. K. CHATTERJI, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, (Bengal Publ.), Calcutta, 1963, plates I-XXXI.



- Telugu  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 45 mil.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 151 tr.
- Tamil  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 38 mil.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 76 tr.
- Kannada  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 22 mil.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 86 tr.
- Malayalam  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 22 mil.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 52 tr.

If we consider the total number of translations into the European languages listed below as 100 per cent and make corresponding calculations, we come to the following bar-graph:

- English  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 273 tr.
- German  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 28 tr.
- Dutch  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 19 tr.
- Swedish  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 tr.
- French  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 25 tr.
- Spanish  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 13 tr.
- Italian  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 19 tr.
- Russian  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 tr.
- Polish  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 tr.
- Hungarian  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 tr.

In order to illustrate in what period translations into (modern) Hindi and English were made, we marked the dates of publication in the list below. A statistical error of about 5 per cent should be taken into account, due to translations which have no date of publication or of which the date of the first edition was not found. As was explained above, the translation of the BG is a rather recent phenomenon, with a big number of Hindi translations between 1910 and 1930 and again 1950-1970; for English the spate of translations came after 1950: out of a total of 273 English translations, 117 were made during the last 30 years.

<i>Year</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
1785	1		1830		1
1800			1831		
1801			1832		
1802		1	1833		
1803		1	1834		
1804			1835		
1805			1836		
1806			1837		
1807		1	1838		
1808			1839		
1809			1840		
1810		1	1841		
1811			1842		
1812			1843		
1813			1844		
1814			1845		1
1815		1	1846		
1816			1847		1
1817			1848		
1818			1849		1
1819			1850		1
1820			1851		
1821			1852		
1822			1853		
1823			1854		
1824			1855	1	1
1825			1856		
1826			1857		
1827			1858		
1828			1859		
1829			1860		1



<i>Year</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
1861		2	1906	3	2
1862			1907	2	1
1863			1908	1	4
1864		1	1909	3	2
1865			1910	2	3
1866		1	1911	4	4
1867		1	1912	2	2
1868		1	1913	1	2
1869			1914	1	8
1870		2	1915	4	8
1871		1	1916	1	5
1872			1917		4
1873			1918	4	2
1874			1919	1	2
1875	1	3	1920		6
1876			1921	2	4
1877		2	1922	2	7
1878		2	1923	1	11
1879			1924	2	10
1880		3	1925	1	8
1881	1		1926	2	8
1882	1		1927	2	5
1883	1		1928	3	2
1884			1929	2	
1885	3		1930	2	5
1886			1931	3	1
1887	1		1932	2	3
1888		3	1933	3	1
1889	3		1934	1	
1890	1		1935	5	4
1891			1936	4	3
1892	1		1937	3	1
1893			1938	2	3
1894	4	1	1939	1	5
1895	3		1940	3	2
1896	1	1	1941	2	5
1897	2	1	1942	1	3
1898	2	1	1943	1	1
1899			1944	4	2
1900	3		1945	1	1
1901	1	1	1946	4	
1902	1	1	1947	3	4
1903	1		1948	6	1
1904	1	1	1949	2	3
1905	3	5	1950	1	3

Year	English	Hindi	Year	English	Hindi
1951		3	1966	2	3
1952	1	3	1967	4	1
1953	4	1	1968	7	
1954	5	4	1969	3	6
1955	4	2	1970	5	3
1956	4	2	1971	2	2
1957	2	4	1972	3	5
1958		4	1973	4	6
1959	7	2	1974	7	
1960	4	3	1975	6	4
1961	5	2	1976	7	1
1962	5	9	1977	7	2
1963	1	1	1978	6	
1964	1	1	1979	3	1
1965	6	6	1980	1	1

#### 4.1. 'Translating' the Gītā into Sanskrit

Indian *pandits* have never ceased to compose or paraphrase in Sanskrit and many commentators of the Gītā include a short paraphrase or a Sanskrit rendering of the original, in post-classical or in simplified 'modern' Sanskrit. Sometimes, the commentator simply rewrites the *śloka* in easier or synonymous terms. Śrīdhara (14-15th c.) reproduces verse 1.1<sup>1</sup> as follows:

भो संजय, धर्मभूमौ कुरुक्षेत्रे इति ... कुरोधर्मस्थाने, मामकाः मत्पुत्राः पाण्डु-  
पुत्राश्च युयुत्सवो योद्धुमिच्छन्तः समवेताः मिलिताः सन्तः किं कृतवन्तः ।

Rāmānuja gives an introduction to verse 1.1 (English tr. by Van Buitenen): 'Dhritarāshtra knows that Arjuna, on whose side Krishna, the Supreme Person stands, has the upper hand, but being blind in all respects he asks Samjaya how the battle is proceeding'.

Further examples may be found with the help of the list of Sanskrit commentaries (above, ch. 3). In modern times too the Gītā has been re-worded in Sanskrit. E.g. verse 1.1 is rendered by R. S. Gokhale<sup>2</sup>:

धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे मिलिता युयुत्सवः सकलाः ।  
मत्काश्च पाण्डवा अपि किमकुर्वत संजय स्वयं ब्रूहि ॥

1. Original verse: धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे युयुत्सवः समवेता युयुत्सवः ।

मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥

2. S.B. *Gītāryāsaṅgrahaṇī*, Bombay, 1914.



Of the hand of Panditarāja Svāmī Śrī Bhagavadācārya we have the following inter-verbal rewording<sup>3</sup>:

धर्मक्षेत्रे तपः क्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धस्थले युयुत्सवो योद्धुमिच्छवः समवेता संगता  
मामकाः मत्पुत्राः मत्पुत्रसहायकाश्च पाण्डवाः पाण्डुपुत्र युधिष्ठिरादयः किमकुर्वन्त  
किमन्वतिष्ठन्निति सामस्त्येन श्रावयः मां हे संजय ।

We further note that in the middle of the 13th c. a *Bālabhārata* (a summary of the MBh in 18 parvas, 6950 ślokas) was written by the Jain poet Amaraçandra Sūri, "at the request of the Brahmins"<sup>4</sup>. A typical example of an epitomized Gītā is the *Gītārthasangraha* of Yāmunācārya in 32 verses.

#### 4.2. 'Translation' into Prakrit ?

In its Middle Indo-Aryan form Prakrit had a religious usage in both Buddhist Pāli and Jain Ardha-Māgadhī, and found an early literary expression in Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Mahārāshtrī<sup>5</sup>. The philosophical and linguistic links of this literature with the BG are now no longer questioned<sup>6</sup>, although the existence of a BG in Prakrit is not fully attested. Discussing an early Arabic version of the MBh story, S. K. Chatterji suggests that there may have been a MBh version in some late Prakrit, or more precisely, in some Apabhramśa dialect of N.W. India, before 1000 A.D.:

"The Indian original of this Arabico-Persian version of the MBh story is quite noteworthy in many respects. It undoubtedly belonged to Sindh, from its frequent reference to the Sindh background in narrating the MBh saga. The divergences and new episodes show the existence of saga materials outside of the Sanskrit MBh, and this points to a different recension or independent version of the epic which was current in Sindh and Western Panjab as well... This independent or separate version of the MBh as current in Sindh (and possibly also Western Panjab) was unquestionably in a Prakrit vernacular, closely connected with which there might have existed a Sanskrit version as well."<sup>7</sup>

3. SBG, Ahmedabad, 1956.

4. G. CAUDHARY, *Jain Sāhitya kā vrihad Itihās*, (Hindi), Vārānasi, 1973, (vol. 6), p. 512. Yet J. GHOSH, *Epic Sources of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1963, vol. 1, p. 10, notes, "the episode of the SBG is conspicuous by its absence".

5. See S. M. KATRE, *Prākṛit languages and their contribution to Indian Culture*, Poona, 1964.

6. "The two chief works of Mahāyāna Buddhism... are deeply indebted to the teaching of the Gītā". S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *BG*, 1976 ed., p. 11, fn. According to de la Vallée POUSSIN the Buddhist *Śuklavidarśana* refers to the BG as an authority.

7. S. K. CHATTERJI, 'An Early Arabic Version of the MBh story', in *Indian Linguistics*, II (1949), 159.

Since epic literature is originally folk-literature, one may perhaps consider the question whether the original form of the great Indian stories was not in a spoken Prakrit of the common people before it was fixed in Sanskrit form<sup>8</sup> !

#### 4.3. *Translations into Hindi*

Although the earliest reference to a translation of the BG into a New Indo-Aryan language is found in Marathi and Braj, we start the survey with Hindi.

##### 4.3.a. A definition of Hindi

As Sanskrit developed into Prakrit and Apabhramśa languages, the Middle Indo-Aryan tongues obtained their own literary status in popular drama and in the religious writings of the Jains. Gradually, various Apabhramśas became standardized: Mahārāshtrī in the West, Śaurasenī in the North and Māgadhi in the East<sup>1</sup>. The dialects set the stage for the main New Indo-Aryan languages to appear. In the midst of these, in Madhya Deśa or Middle Land, arose a so-called Avahatta speech, with Braj as its most forceful representative; in the Upper Ganges Valley Avadhī became the choice vehicle for poetical composition. The link with Sanskrit remained unbroken, for "roughly 50 per cent of the words of a modern Indo-Aryan language are borrowed from Sanskrit — either as *tatsamas* without change of spelling or as *semi-tatsamas*"<sup>2</sup>.

From the 19th century onwards, the vernacular of western Uttar Pradesh started to be considered as the standard (highstanding or *khari boli*) language, as the purest form among the popular 'Hindustānī' ways of speaking. In a general way two forms of spoken and literary Hindi can be distinguished. On the one hand was the Khari Boli form, considered to be more 'Indo-Aryan' and highly sanskritized, which started to be called 'Hindī'. It was written in Devanāgarī characters. On the other hand was Urdu, which, due to the historical importance of the lingering Mughal rule, borrowed the vocabulary from Persian and Arabic. Keeping the same basic grammar and syntax as 'Hindī', Urdu was written in an adapted form of Persian characters. This Persianized form of Hindi derived its name 'Urdū' from the language of the troops

8. See H. JACOBI, 'War das Epos und die profane Litteratur Indiens ursprünglich im Prākrit abgefasst?' in *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, 48 (1894), 407-17.

1. See R. DVIVEDI, *A Critical Survey of Hindi Literature*, Delhi, 1966.

2. S. K. CHATTERJI, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi* (lectures delivered in 1940), 1969, p. 134.



stationed at the Urdu-e-mu'alla, the 'exalted military camp' of the Mughal capital in Delhi. Unfortunately, Grierson gave a religious connotation to the terms, in his Linguistic Survey:

"We must define Urdu as the Persianized Hindostani of educated Musulmans, while Hindi is the Sanskritized Hindostani of educated Hindus... Hindostani implies the great lingua franca of India, capable of being written in either character, and, without purism, avoiding the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature."<sup>3</sup>

The southern usage of this tongue, well beyond the Deccan plateau, was called Dakhini (southern Hindi) or Hindavi (see below, p. 158). Considering the geographical, historical and social peculiarities of Hindi, we quote the following distinction made by Saksena and Sahai:

"Three distinct linguistic strata can be observed in the Hindi Regional Language Area. At the *lowest stratum* there is a chain of mutually intelligible local dialects at village-level. They are understood in a limited area and greatly vary geographically. At the *next stratum* we find the sub-regional languages which are understood over somewhat wider areas and are rich in folk-literature. They are: Khari Boli, Hariani, Braj Bhasa, Kannauji, Bundeli, Awadhi, Bagheli, Chattisgarhi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Rajasthani (including Jaipuri, Mewati, Malwi, Marwari) and Pahari languages. Some of these sub-regional languages had great importance in the last four or five centuries as the media of religious and literary activities....

"The *third stratum* is that of Standard Hindi written in the Devanagari Script, which on the literary level has another variety, Urdu, differing from the former mainly in lexical structure and employment of an alien Perso-Arabic. This stratum is above the local dialects and sub-regional languages. It serves as a native speech of only a part of the literate section of urban society and as a second speech-style of most of the others. Its conversational style, which does not employ pure borrowed words either from Sanskrit or Persian, is often called Hindostani....

"Under the patronage of British rulers, it developed a prose-style at the Fort William College, Calcutta. From that time Hindi literary style and Urdu literary style diverged from each other. The Hindi style got support from social and political reformers. Nationalists found it as the best medium of communication at national level. It became the link language and got the status of Official Language after Independence. It has thus become a unifying force linguistically as well as culturally."<sup>4</sup>

3. G. GRIERSON, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 164-66, *passim*.

4. B. R. SAKSENA and R. SAHAI, 'A Grammatical Sketch of Hindi', in *Census of India* 1971, Monograph No. 2, p. 53.

In the 1961 Census of India the figure for 'Hindi' speakers is 133.5 million. It leaves out Bihari, Rajasthani, Urdu and Pahari speakers (representing more than 60 million speakers together). In 1971 the number had increased to 153.7 million, which places Hindi far ahead of other languages in India. Now Hindi is used by 35 per cent of India's population or roughly 200 million people; it operates as the official language of the Government and of five States (U.P., Haryana, Bihar, M.P. and Rajasthan). English is spoken fluently by hardly 4 per cent of the population and acts as 'associate' official language.

#### 4.3.b. The development of literary Hindi

One of the first translations in pure Khari Boli was the translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, known as *Sukha-Sāgara*, by Munshi Sadāśukla (end 18th c.)<sup>5</sup>. The first Hindi newspaper, *Udanta Mārtanda*, appeared from Calcutta on the 30th May 1826. It is claimed that the oldest Hindi Grammar was prepared by the Dutchman J. J. Ketelaer in 1715<sup>6</sup> (referred to by David Mill in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*, 1743). In 1630 a *Dictionary of Persian, Hindustani, English and Portuguese* (in manuscript) was compiled at Surat. In 1704 the Capucin Father Turonensis completed his *Lexicon Lingua Indostanica* (in manuscript).

Hindi has come to a mature status with a standard literary form only since the literary activities of Bhāratendu Hariścandra (famous for his play *Satyahariścandra*, 1876) and Mahāvira Prasāda Dvivedī (editor of *Sarasvatī* and writer of a MBh prose story, 1908). In spite of its relatively young age, Khari Boli Hindi asserted itself quickly and masterpieces were written in it (e.g. the novels of Premacanda, translated into several languages). In this context we may mention *Kurukshetra* (1943) of Dinakara which was influenced by Tilak's *Gītā-rahasya*, although the teaching of karmayoga in it is placed in the mouth of Bhīshma.

An indication that Hindi was emerging as an important language in North India is found in the efforts at Bible translation into Hindi. First, there was some confusion as to which form of the language should be adopted: Hindustani, Hindi or Urdu. The native scholars employed in the Fort William College first translated the Four Gospels into Urdu and printed it in the Devanāgarī character, in 1805. The Urdu New Testament of Henry Martin was first printed in the Persian character, in 1812, but later in Devanāgarī and Roman characters. At about the same time a Hindi version by H. T. Colebrooke was published (1806) at

5. See I. P. PANDEY, *Hindi Literature, Trends and Traits*, Calcutta, 1975.

6. See J. P. VOGEL, *Journal van J. J. Ketelaer's hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore, 1711-13*, 's Gravenhage, 1937.



the Fort William College, and a New Testament, by the Serampore Missionaries, in 1811. These first translations remained controversial, and for subsequent editions, both of the Urdu and the Hindi versions, Sanskrit equivalents were adopted to replace some of the Persian terms.

The tug of war between adherents of the Sanskrit and of the Persian vocabulary lasted for a few decades. When Rājā Lakshmana Simha translated *Śakuntalā* into Khari Bolī Hindi (1863) he claimed that he was practically the first to translate a Sanskrit drama; he was very much in favour of the use of *tatsam-tadbhava-pradhāna* Hindi. When re-editing Sinha's *Śakuntalā* (1905?) F. Pincott comments:

"The play, being a translation from the Sanskrit, necessarily contains a good many tatsama words; but the translator does not seem to have gone out of his way to bring in Sanskrit vocables; on the contrary, he does not hesitate to employ, occasionally, both Persian and Arabic, when they seem most fitting. No doubt, he could have gone further in this direction, without disadvantage to his work, but we should certainly feel thankful that he has not studied to exaggerate the mischiefs which well-meaning but unthinking Pandits are bringing upon the language they profess to love."

In the early stages of the development of Hindi (i.e. at the time of Apabhramśa) there was a tendency to keep away altogether from the language of the priests: "No Sanskrit words (*tatsamas*) were allowed to be used in the Apabhramśa writings, as Sanskrit was identified with the Brahmanic religion"<sup>8</sup>. Also in the 19th century the controversy was not altogether free of a religious bias !

#### 4.3.c. Some early Hindi versions of the BG

It is not always clear to what an extent one can speak of a 'translation' when one considers how a Hindi rendering of a Sanskrit *śloka* can differ from the original only because of the omission of Sanskrit case-endings. Within the same cultural context and using a highly Sanskritized Hindi, the Hindi translator is often able to reproduce a *śloka* of the

7. F. PINCOTT, ed., *The Sakuntala in Hindi, The Text of K. Lachhman Singh*, London, 1905(?).

"Before the birth of a reformation movement like the Ārya Samāj in the 19th century, pious Hindus who perhaps regretted their inability to read the national script and were yet anxious to perform their religious duties by intoning the Sanskrit verses and hymns, which a good Hindu should know by heart, had begun in their own way to write down Sanskrit texts in the only alphabet they were familiar with—the Perso-Arabic". S. K. CHATTERJEE, 'Sanskrit in Perso-Arabic script', in *Indian Linguistics*, 7 (1939), 319.

8. I. P. PANDEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

Gītā in practically the same word-order. The first verse of the Gītā, where Dhritarāshtra asks:

धर्म+क्षेत्रे कुरु+क्षेत्रे समवेता (:), युयुत्सवः,  
मामकाः पाण्डवा (:)श्च=एव किम्-अकुर्वत, संजय ?

is rendered by K. S. Śukla (1867) in nearly the same word-order, changing only the place of the vocative 'O Sanjaya':

हे संजय,

धर्मस्थल कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा किये भये यकठ्ठे भये हुवे मेरे पुत्र औ पांडु के  
पुत्र ये निश्चय करिके क्या करने को प्रारंभ करते भये सो कहों।

A comparison of the word-order of BG 1.1 in other renderings reveals that most of them closely follow the Sanskrit order (see below, 4.3.d).

In Hindi, it is tempting simply to copy the Sanskrit technical terms of philosophy and ritual, e.g. *ātmā*, *yoga*, *yajna*, *bhakti*, *karmaphala*, etc. However, although the same words can frequently be used for the Hindi translation, the translator has to be aware of the fact that even within the same cultural context, words can change their meaning. E.g. the Sanskrit *sāhasa* denotes 'murder, adultery' and similar wicked actions, whereas in Hindi it means 'courage'. *Karpata* in Sanskrit is a torn piece of cloth, but in Hindi *kapadā* is a person's dress. The Sanskrit *go* has a variety of meanings, like 'walking, world', etc. (up to 23 items in the dictionary); in Hindi it is practically restricted to the meaning 'cow'.

It is noteworthy also that in the approximately 120 years of Hindi translations of the BG a change in the grammatical structure of the language can be clearly seen<sup>9</sup> (see 4.3.d). The earliest translations into Indian vernaculars were made into Marathi (1290), Braj (ca. 1320), Malayalam (1400), Maithili (1615) and Gujarati (ca. 1620). VISHNUDĀSA (1435 A.D.), called *Hindī kā prathama mahākavi* ("the first Hindi poet", but see Braj, 4.12), produced a paraphrase of the MBh<sup>10</sup>, in a language defined as Gvāliyarī or Madhyadeśīya Bhāshā. Although some early versions may be defined as 'Hindi'<sup>11</sup>, the first translation into Hindi seems to be the verse-rendering *BG Mālā* of JAGATĀNANDA (1802), followed by a prose-version of NANDĪRĀMA (ca. 1807).

In the Catalogue of the Rajasthani Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur (1959), a reference is found to an *artha-sahita* BG of 1803 and a *sārtha* BG of 1815. In the Catalogue of the NPS, Benares (1964),

9. In the renderings of e.g. Sapre and of Satavalekara, the influence of Marathi is clearly present.

10. *Pāndava-carita*, 1435 A.D., ed. by H. DVIVEDI, Gwalior, 1973.

11. See for example B. TIVARI, *Anuvāda vijnāna*, Delhi, (1972), 1976, pp. 197ff. In a book review of *Sarasvatī*, 33 (1932), II, 586, Rāmapratāpa PUROHITA of Jaipur is called the first translator of the BG in Khari Boli verse.

12. BG and



mention is made of a *Bālābodhinī-tīkā* and a *Sambodhinī-vārtā*, both in prose, dated ca. 1810.

Further, we have the rendering by Gusain BADRĪLĀLA (ca. 1861); the prose-version of Munshi Harivamśa LĀLA, whose revised edition appeared in 1868; and the translation by Harivamśa RAYA of 1871. Holtzmann refers to a BG Commentary of 1865, edited by Pandita Durgāprasāda, Benares.

In 1867 we have two translations, one by K. S. ŚUKLA and one by M. S. ŚUKLA. The opening two words of the *Gītā* धृतराष्ट्र उवाच are paraphrased as follows:

नेत्रहीन धृतराष्ट्र ने युद्ध में संदेह करते हुए प्रशंसा वाक्य से धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र का विशेषण देकर आत्महितकारी संजय से पूछा ... (K. S. ŚUKLA)

जब श्रीकुरुक्षेत्र में दुर्योधनादिक धृतराष्ट्र के पुत्र औ युधिष्ठिरादिक पांडु के पुत्र आप-आप की सेनों को लैके युद्ध के वास्ते तयार भये, तब इहाँ हस्तिनापुर में धृतराष्ट्र संजय से पूछने लगे ... (M. S. ŚUKLA)

It took some time before Hindi translations of the BG gained the popularity which the earlier Braj poetical renderings enjoyed, partly because the *pandits* were too much engrossed in the controversy about adopting or rejecting the Urdu vocabulary. In Hindi prose (*gadya*) there was a heaviness of style with a certain pedantic verbosity, while poetry (*padya*), in spite of its attractive rhythmic sounds, would allure the readers/listeners into a mere labyrinth of images and sentiments without giving any clue about the exact meaning of the verses. As far as religious literature was concerned, there was also a self-defensive attitude of the neo-Hindu revivalists. The BG was not approached with an open attitude on the part of literary criticism and its unity, authenticity and historicity could not be called into question.

As a result, traditional doctrines were accumulated into voluminous commentaries by Hindi *śāstrīs* who drew their insights straight from the Sanskrit commentaries.

Only in the 1920s did a healthy change in approach take place, partly due to the impact of Tilak's *Gītā-rahasya* in Marathi. At the same time, a new breeze blew in Calcutta, with the renderings by the GOYANDAKĀ brothers, who translated both Śankara's and Rāmānuja's Commentaries. With the publishing help of the Gita-Press at Gorakhpur<sup>12</sup>, they contributed much to the spread and vulgarization of the *Gītā* in Hindi. *Tattvavivecanī*, the commentary by the elder brother Jayadayāla, was written in the form of question-and-answer. Notwithstanding the

12. BG since 1924; with H. P. PODDĀRA, chief ed. of *Kalyāna*, esp. *Gītānka*, 1929, and *Gītātattvānka*, 1939.

literal translation, the Goyandakā renderings are clear and impressive, with nicely balanced sentences. We quote a few examples:

BG 4.6 — मैं अविनाशीस्वरूप अजन्मा होने पर भी तथा सब भूत-प्राणियों का ईश्वर होने पर भी अपनी प्रकृति को अधीन करके योगमाया से प्रकट होता हूँ।

9.29 — यद्यपि मैं सब भूतों में समभाव से व्यापक हूँ, न कोई मेरा अप्रिय है और न प्रिय है, परंतु जो भक्त मुझको प्रेम से भजते हैं वे मुझमें और मैं भी उनमें प्रत्यक्ष प्रकट हूँ।

18.46 — जिस परमात्मा से सर्वभूतों की उत्पत्ति हुई है और जिससे यह संपूर्ण जगत् व्याप्त है, उस परमेश्वर को अपने स्वाभाविक कर्म द्वारा पूजकर मनुष्य परम सिद्धि प्राप्त होता है।

Around 1926 Svāmī Kīśoradāsa KRISHNADĀSA produced a fluent prose-version in 'Bhāshā Lāhaurī', which became very popular among the rural masses. In order to suit the popular devotion, the *gītāmāhātmya* is spread over the chapters, on an equal basis with the Gītā text. The flow of words is slowed down by interjections, endearing addresses, conjunctions, explications and repetitions, with the result that the sense is clear enough, even at speedy reading.

Another widely spread translation was prepared by Harirāma BHĀRGAVA (ca. 1930, published 12 years later with commentary). Written in a kind of spoken language, this translation is sandwiched between two summaries of the story of the MBh, namely an introduction of 76 pp. which gives the context of the BG in the MBh, and an appendix of 56 pp. which summarizes the rest of the epic. Each chapter is accompanied by a *māhātmya* description; every verse is given a *padaccheda* analysis, a word-for-word Hindi translation according to the sense-order, a free translation and a commentary. The text of the BG is preceded by the traditional *kara-nyāsa*, *anga-nyāsa* and *gītā-dhyānam*; a 19-line poem recaptures the moral lesson of the Gītā at the end.

In 1965, Satyavrata SIDDHĀNTĀLANKĀRA produced a translation according to the pattern *mūla*, *anvaya*, *śabdārtha*, *bhāvārtha*, adding to it a survey of the commentators like Śankara, Madhva, Tilak, Aurobindo, Vinoba and Satavalekara. Each important section is concluded with a summary of contents and a presentation of his own views. The originality of the publication is that each page has a higher and a lower part. The upper level gives the running Hindi translation in easy language, printed in bold type and interspersed with explanatory and connective comments; in the lower level, the Sanskrit text is given with a word-for-word rendering and figures indicating the logical grammatical sentence structure. This translation of the Gītā is suitable both for students of a *gurukula* and for laymen. The translator has mastered the technique of common

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language translation very well: implicit material has been clarified, some needful transpositions from one verse to another have been made, at times negatives are rendered in positive statements, passives are changed into the active voice, key-words are stressed by repetitions, difficult terms are reworded through appositions. Whenever an interpretative paraphrase is introduced, it is done with thoughtfulness; when important passages are discussed, it is done impartially, referring to the main commentators. As an illustration we quote the translation of a few difficult verses:

- 2.30 — यथार्थ दृष्टि आत्मा की अमरता की है । हे भारत ! सब के शरीर में निवास करनेवाला यह “देही” — देह का स्वामी “आत्मा” — सदा ही अवध्य है, इसका कोई वध नहीं कर सकता, इसलिए तुझे किसी प्राणी के लिए शोक नहीं करना चाहिए ।
- 2.39 — श्री कृष्ण कहते हैं: हे पार्थ ! अब तक मैंने जो-कुछ कहा वह सांख्य-बुद्धि के अनुसार कहा; अब योग-बुद्धि के अनुसार तुझे क्या करना चाहिए यह सुन, जिस योग-बुद्धि से युक्त होकर तू कर्म तो करेगा, परंतु कर्म के बंधन को परे फेंक देगा ।
- 2.71 — जो पुरुष सब कामनाओं को, इच्छाओं को त्याग देता है, “निस्पृह” होकर, लालसा से रहित होकर, “निर्मम” होकर, ममता से रहित होकर, “निरहंकार” होकर, अहंकार की “मैं” की भावना को छोड़कर विचरता है, वह शांति को प्राप्त होता है ।

In this short account it is impossible to do justice to the numerous fine Hindi translations. We mention only a few more renderings in verse form, which are meant for general use.

At the request of Gāndhījī, S. GUPTA produced his *Gītā-samvāda* (1948) for the public prayer-meetings. A verse-to-verse (*samaśloki*) rendering is bound to be a partly artificial imitation of the original *anushtubha chanda* of Sanskrit; this does not fit perfectly in Hindi, because Hindi words have practically dropped the voiced word-endings: Hindi *man* (mind) for Sanskrit *mana*, etc. The advantage of such a translation, however, is that the original words and sounds (*bhāratavarsha kī cirantana dhvani*!) are kept in a modern vernacular, in the conviction that the original words of the *Gītā* have the force of a *mantra* and can touch the hearts of the devotees by the mere vibration of their sounds. As a result, the poetic translation becomes a sacred text, full of divine strength like a *pratishthita devatā*. Apparently under the influence of Vinoba's translation, Gupta adds a brief vocabulary at the end, explaining some basic terms. We quote a few verses from Gupta's translation:

- 1.47 — कहके यों गुडाकेश छोड़कर शर-चाप को,  
जा बैठा रथ में पीछे शोक संतप्त चित्त से ।
- 2.2 — हुआ मोह तुझे कैसे कौन्तेय, रणकाल में,  
देगा दुर्लोक-दुष्कीर्ति, सज्जनोचित जो नहीं ।

- 2.55 — मनोगत सभी काम तज दे जब पार्थ जो,  
आप में आप हो तुष्ट, सो स्थित-प्रज्ञ है तभी ।
- 12.2 — दत्तचित्त मुभी में जो नित्य युक्त हुआ मुझे—  
भजे परम श्रद्धा से, उसे मैं श्रेष्ठ मानता ।
- 18.73 — मिटा मोह, हुआ बोध, कृपा से प्रभु आपकी,  
सन्नद्ध हूँ असन्देह, करूँगा आपका कहा ।

In his huge Hindi commentary *Purushārtha-bodhini* Maharashtrian SATAVALEKARA proves that the BG is in no way different from the Upanishadic and Vedic tradition. He gives the original Sanskrit verses decomposed into re-arranged separate words, a literal version, a free rendering and a detailed analytic commentary, with arithmetical tables of word-meanings.

The return to the Vedas is more sober in the *Gītā-yoga* of 'VIDEHA' (1972). After each verse in the original Sanskrit a practical decomposition of root-words is given, in such a way that the translation can proceed from one unit to another, with clarifications for the reader. We quote verse 2.10:

(भारत) भारतवंशी ! [धृतराष्ट्र !] (उभयोः सेनयोः मध्ये) दोनों सेनाओं के मध्य में (तम् वि-सीदन्तम्) उस विषादयुक्त [अर्जुन] के प्रति (हृषीक-ईशः) जितेन्द्रिय [कृष्ण] ने (प्र-हसन्-इव) हंसते हुए-से, हंसकर (इदम् वचः) यह वचन (उवाच) कहा ।

#### 4.3.d. Samples of Hindi renderings of BG 1.1:

As an illustration of the various ways in which the BG has been rendered into Hindi during more than 100 years, we quote verse 1.1 (and 2.47) from some fifty translations. A comparison of these translations is interesting mainly for a linguistic study of the development of the language. In the early renderings the influence of Braj can be noticed. Later translations tend to be more concise, closely following the Sanskrit text, in the order and the choice of words. For a comparison with English, we refer to 5.4 (and 5.5) below.

H. L. MUNŚI, 1867:

धृतराष्ट्र ने संजय से यह प्रश्न किया कि धर्मक्षेत्र अर्थात् धर्म का उत्पत्तिस्थान कुरुक्षेत्र में हमारे और पाण्डव के योद्धा युद्ध की इच्छा से मिले हुए क्या करते हैं ?

K. S. ŚUKLA, 1867:

हे संजय धर्मक्षेत्र धर्मभूमि जो कुरुक्षेत्र वहाँ मेरे पुत्र दुर्योधन आदिक और पाण्डु के पुत्र युधिष्ठिरादि सब युद्ध की इच्छा करिके इकट्ठे हो क्या करते हैं ?

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U. TRIPATHI, 1888\*:

हे संजय धर्मक्षेत्र धर्म का क्षेत्र अर्थात् खेत ऐसा जो प्रसिद्ध कुरुक्षेत्र तीर्थ तिस में युद्ध की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुये जे मेरे पुत्र दुर्योधनादि और पांडु के पुत्र जे युधिष्ठिरादि ते सब क्या करते हुये सो कहिये।

R. P. ŚUKLA, 1892:

धृतराष्ट्र संजय को पूछते भये कि, हे संजय, धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में हमारे पुत्र और पांडु के पुत्र युद्ध की इच्छा करिके येकट्ठे भये हैं, ये क्या करते हैं।

G. SIMHA, 1896:

हे, संजय ! युद्ध की इच्छा करनेवाले मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्र होकर फिर क्या किया ?

L. N. SAROVARA, 1898:

धर्म के खेत में, कुरुक्षेत्र में, इकट्ठे होकर, युद्ध के उत्साहवाले हमारे पुत्र और पांडु के पुत्रों ने क्या काम किया, हे संजय ?

SVĀMĪ RAGHUNĀTHA RĀY, ca. 1905:

हे संजय, मम उत्तम मीत। शान्त करो मम व्याकुल चीत॥  
चिन्त लगी मुझको अति भारी। चैन गया मम निद्रा हारी॥ (१)  
दुर्योधन अर पाण्डव भाई। रच बैठे घर माँहि लड़ाई॥  
लेकर अपने-अपने कसकर। खेत्र सिधारे कमरें कसकर॥ (२)  
नयन हीन हूँ देख न सकूँ। करते हैं क्या मानुष लाखूँ॥  
डस से संजय मोहि सुनाओ। युद्ध वृत्तान्त अचिन्त बनाओ॥ (३)

SUDARŚANĀCĀRYA, 1905:

कौरवदल पांडव तथा कुरुक्षेत्र में आय।  
कहा कियो धृतराष्ट्र इह पूछत संजय पाय॥

M. SIMHA, 1909:

धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र भूमि में मिले युद्ध के काजा।  
हे संजय तहँ कहा करति भे कुरु पांडव सब राजा॥

\*With introductory clarification of the king's question: "तहाँ श्रीमन्महाभारत में जब कौरव पाण्डवों के युद्ध का निश्चय हुआ तो धृतराष्ट्र ने व्यासजी से यह प्रार्थना की कि हे भगवान् सब युद्ध मैं प्रत्यक्ष देखना चाहता हूँ सो ऐसी कृपा कीजिए जो अन्ध भी मैं सब नित्य नित्य का हाल जानो तब व्यासजी ने कहा कि हे पुत्र हंस संजय को मैं दिव्य दृष्टि देता हूँ तिसके प्रभाव से यह संजय तुम्हारे समीप बैठे ही जो कुछ हाल युद्ध का प्रत्यक्ष अप्रत्यक्ष हुआ करेगा . . . ."

G. V. ŚARMĀ, 1915:

महाराज धृतराष्ट्र भूप ने संजय से यों किया सवाल,  
कुरुक्षेत्र में धर्म युद्ध का संजय हमें सुनाओ हाल।  
हमारे दलवाले योधागण वो रणधीर वीर सरदार,  
पांडव दल के महारथों से क्या करते हैं कौन प्रकार॥

D. VAIŚYA, 1915:

धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में मेरे पुत्रों और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने युद्ध के इरादे से जमा होकर क्या-क्या किया है संजय !

M. SAPRE, 1917:

धृतराष्ट्र ने पूछा, हे संजय ! कुरुक्षेत्र की पुण्यभूमि में एकत्रित मेरे और पांडु के युद्धेच्छुक पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

S. P. ŚYĀMAPRASANNA-DEVAJĪ, 1918:

हे संजय ! पवित्र भूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध करने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे होकर स्थित हुए मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

R. ŚARMĀ, ca. 1920:

राजा धृतराष्ट्र ने बूझा कि — हे संजय ! धर्म के क्षेत्ररूप कुरुक्षेत्र में दुर्योधनादि मेरे पुत्र और युधिष्ठिरादि पाण्डु के पुत्र (पाण्डव) युद्ध करने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे होकर क्या करते हैं ?

R. B. JĀLIMASIMHA, 1922:

हे संजय ! धर्मरूपी क्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में इकट्ठे हुये युद्ध की इच्छावाले मेरे पुत्रों के हितकारी और पाण्डवादि निश्चय करके क्या करते भये।

G. C. DĪKSHITA, 1924:

हे संजय ! धर्म के स्थान, कुरुक्षेत्र में मेरे पुत्रों और पाण्डवों ने लड़ने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे होकर क्या किया ?

N. ŚĀSTRĪ, 1924:

कहो संजय ! पुण्य कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की लालसा से एकत्रित हुए मेरे पुत्रों और पाण्डवों ने क्या-क्या किया ?

Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, 1924:

हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में इकट्ठे हुए युद्ध की इच्छावाले मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?



G. PRASĀDA, 1926:

हे संजय ! पुण्यभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध करने की इच्छा से एकत्र होकर मेरे पुत्रों एवं पाण्डवों ने क्या किया ?

S. SŪRAJAMALA, 1926:

कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्रित हो, युद्ध की इच्छा चित धरत भये,  
मेरे अरु पांडव के जाये, हे संजय क्या कुछ करत भये।

K. KRISHNADĀSA, 1926(?):

हे संजय ! धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में मेरे और पांडव के पुत्रों ने क्या किया सो कहो।

S. DAYĀNANDA, 1926:

हे संजय ! कुरुक्षेत्र की पुण्यभूमि में युद्ध करने की इच्छा से एकत्रित मेरे पुत्रगण तथा पाण्डवों ने क्या किया ?

S. D. SATAVALEKARA, 1927:

हे संजय ! कुरुक्षेत्र की पुण्यभूमि में युद्ध की इच्छा से एकत्रित हुए मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

D. BHĀRGAVA, "DINEŚA", 1933:

रण-लालसा से धर्म-भू, कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्र हो।  
मेरे सुतों ने, पाण्डवों ने, क्या किया संजय कहो॥

NĀRĀYANA SVĀMĪ, 1936:

हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा से एकत्रित मेरे और पांडु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

S. R. MOHATĀ, 1937:

धृतराष्ट्र ने संजय से पूछा कि हे संजय ! धर्म-क्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुए मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

V. MĪMĀNSĀRATNA, 1939:

हे संजय, धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्रित हुए युद्ध करना चाहते हुए मेरे और पांडु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

M. S. G. BHĀRADVĀJA, 1939:

राजा धृतराष्ट्र ने ब्रूभा कि - हे संजय ! धर्म के क्षेत्ररूप कुरुक्षेत्र में दुर्योधनादि मेरे पुत्र और युधिष्ठिरादि पाण्डु के पुत्र (पाण्डव) युद्ध करने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे होकर क्या करते हैं ?

BHOLE BĀBĀ, 1941:

हे संजय ! धर्म की अभिवृद्धि करनेवाले कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुए दुर्योधन आदि मेरे पुत्रों ने एवं युधिष्ठिर आदि पाण्डु पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

D. GOSVĀMĪ, 1941:

कुरुक्षेत्र जो धर्मक्षेत्र है, लड़ने गये वहाँ निर्भय ।  
मेरे और पाण्डु-पुत्रों ने, कहो किया क्या प्रिय संजय ॥

R. ŚARMĀ, 1942:

हे संजय ! धर्म के क्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध करने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुए दुर्योधनादिक मेरे पुत्र और पाण्डु के पुत्र क्या करते हैं ?

H. BHĀRGAVA, 1942:

हे संजय ! धर्म-भूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में, युद्ध की इच्छा से इकट्ठे होकर, मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ? (सो मुझसे कहो) ।

J. GOYANDAKĀ, (1939), 1947:

हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्रित, युद्ध की इच्छावाले मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

H. GOYANDAKĀ, (1931), 1947:

संजय ! धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा से एकत्रित मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

S. P. DATTA, 1947:

हे संजय, धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में लड़ने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुए मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

J. PRAKĀŚA, 1948:

इस धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुभूमि में एकत्र हुए रणचाह लिये ।  
मम पुत्रों अरु पाण्डव दल ने बोलो सज्जन क्या कर्म किये ॥

S. GUPTA, 1948:

धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र, वहाँ युद्धार्थ जो जुड़े,  
मेरों ने पाण्डवों ने भी कहो संजय, क्या किया ?

B. KUMATHEKARA, 1950:

पवित्र कुरुक्षेत्र पे हमारे और पांडु के ।  
लड़ायी के लिए आये हुवा क्या कह संजय ॥

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H. VĀSUDEVA, 1950:

धृतराष्ट्र ने पूछा, "हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुए मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?"

KRISHNASVARŪPA, 1951:

धृतराष्ट्र संजय से पूछते हैं, कि कर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा वाले मेरे पुत्र और पाण्डु पुत्र, पाण्डवों ने क्या-क्या किया, यह सुनाओ।

B. K. ŚĀSTRĪ, 1953:

हे संजय ! धर्म के स्थान, कुरुक्षेत्र में मेरे पुत्रों और पाण्डवों ने लड़ने की इच्छा से इकट्ठे होकर क्या किया ?

G. P. AGRAVĀLA, 1957:

धर्म अवनि कुरुक्षेत्र महँ,  
रणहित जुरि समुदाय।  
संजय, मम अरु पाण्डुसुत,  
वरनहु कीन्हो काय ॥

B. A. KAUSĀLYĀYANA, 1958:

हे संजय, युद्ध करने के लिए उद्यत धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में इकट्ठे हुए मेरे पुत्र तथा पाण्डु पुत्र क्या करते हैं ?

RĀMA, 1958:

हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्र हुए युद्ध की इच्छावाले मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

A. N. ŚARMĀ, 1959:

कुरुक्षेत्र के शुचि धर्मस्थल में इकट्ठे हो वहाँ।  
अति युद्ध में उन्मत्त कौरव और पाण्डव जन तहाँ ॥  
क्या क्या किया संजय मुझे विस्तार से बतलाइये।  
इच्छा मुझे सब जानने की, हो रही समझाइये ॥

'MAYŪRA', 1960:

कुरुक्षेत्र की धर्म-भूमि में,  
युद्धेच्छा से हे संजय !।  
मेरे तथा पाण्डु-पुत्रों ने,  
मिल क्या किया कहो निश्चय ? ॥

K. H. JOSĪ, 1961:

हे संजय, धर्म की उत्पत्ति और वृद्धि के हेतुभूत कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की अभिलाषा से एकत्र हुए मेरे पुत्रों और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

S. D. SĀTAVALEKARA, 1961:

हे संजय ! धर्मक्षेत्र रूपी कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध करने की इच्छा से एकत्र हुए, मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

SVĀMĪ BHAGAVĀNA, 1961:

धृतराष्ट्र ने कहा कि हे संजय ! मेरे लड़के और पाण्डु के लड़कों ने धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध की इच्छा से (युयुत्सवः) इकट्ठे हुए (समवेताः) क्या किया ?

VIRĀJA, 1962:

हे संजय, जब मेरे पुत्र और पाण्डु के पुत्र धर्म के क्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में युद्ध करने की इच्छा से एकत्र हुए, तब उन्होंने क्या किया ?

SANĀTANADEVA, 1962:

संजय ! धर्मक्षेत्र में युद्ध के लिए उत्सुक होकर एकत्र हुए मेरे पुत्र और पाण्डवों ने क्या किया ?

V. AGRAVĀLA, 1964:

उस पवित्र रणभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्र होकर युद्ध के लिए उत्कंठित मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने हे संजय, क्या किया ?

SVĀMĪ VISHNUTĪRTHA, 1970:

हे संजय ! कुरुक्षेत्र के धर्मक्षेत्र में एकत्रित युद्ध की इच्छा वाले मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

P. K. ŚARMĀ, 1970:

धर्मक्षेत्र सुकुरुक्षेत्र में युद्धेच्छुक गठित सभी ।

मेरे तथा पांडव जनों ने क्या किया संजय ! सभी ॥

V. "VIDEHA", 1972:

धृतराष्ट्र ने पूछा, "(सम्-जय) संजय ! (धर्म-क्षेत्रे कुरु-क्षेत्रे) धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में (सम्-अव-इताः) एकत्र हुए (युयुत्सवः) युद्धाभिलाषी (मामकाः) मेरे पुत्रों ने (च एव) अपि च (पाण्डवाः) पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने (किं) क्या (अकुर्वन्) किया ?"

G. NĀRĀYANA, 1972:

कुरुक्षेत्र की धर्म-भूमि में मेरे और पाण्डु-पुत्रों ने लड़ने को जो हुए इकट्ठे क्या-क्या किया, बताओ संजय ।

VIŚVĀNANDA, 1976:

धृतराष्ट्र ने संजय से जिज्ञासा की — हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में मेरे और पाण्डुपुत्रों ने, जो युद्ध की इच्छा से समवेत हुए थे, क्या किया ?



P. S. SAKSENA, 1973:

धृतराष्ट्र ने प्रश्न किया, हे संजय ! धर्मभूमि कुरुक्षेत्र में इकट्ठे हुए युद्ध के इच्छुक मेरे और पाण्डवों के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

V. VEDAVĀGISHA, 1973:

वैशम्पायन ने राजा जनमेजय से कहा — कि धृतराष्ट्र ने संजय से पूछा — पुण्यक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र में मेरे और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया, वे वहाँ युद्ध की इच्छा से इकट्ठे हुए हैं।

S. N. ŚĀSTRĪ, 1973:

हे संजय, धर्मभूमि (पवित्र) कुरुक्षेत्र में एकत्रित मेरे पुत्रों और पाण्डु के पुत्रों ने क्या किया ?

G. UDĀSĪNA, 1973: (clarifying fully the opening question !)

श्री वैशम्पायन ने महाभारत (भीष्मपर्व, अ० २५) के कथा-प्रसंग में जनमेजय से कहा कि हे जनमेजय ! इसके अनन्तर धृतराष्ट्र ने विस्तारपूर्वक युद्धवृत्त जानने के लिए संजय से पूछा : हे संजय ! युद्ध की इच्छा से, धर्म की उत्पत्ति तथा वृद्धि के हेतुभूत भूभाग कुरुक्षेत्र में, इकट्ठे हुए, मेरे पुत्र दुर्योधन आदि, तथा पाण्डु के पुत्र युधिष्ठिर आदि ने निश्चित रूप से, क्या किया अर्थात् दोनों पक्षों में कैसा युद्ध हुआ, इसका विशद वर्णन करें।

M. L. ŚUKLA, 1980:

धर्म क्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र मंह, युधि-इच्छा मन लीन।  
मोरे सुत अरु पाण्डु सुत, संजय कहु का कीह्न॥

4.3.e. Samples of Hindi renderings of BG 2.47:

The quintessence of the Gītā is often recognized in this Sanskrit verse:

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन।  
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि॥

which has defied the translational skill of the best writers and poets.

V. TRIPATHI, 1888:

और हे अर्जुन तेरा तौ अभी कर्म ही के विषे अधिकार है अर्थात् कर्म करने ही का अधिकार है ज्ञान निष्ठा का अधिकार नहीं है तिस करके तहाँ तहाँ कर्म करता हुआ जो तू है तिस का फलों में अधिकार कभी न होय अर्थात् कर्मफल की तृष्णा तुझको किसी अवस्था में न होय... और जब तेरी कर्मफल में तृष्णा होगी तौ तू... इस बुद्धि से कर्म के नहीं करने में भी तेरे प्रीति न हो।...

SUDARŚANĀCĀRYA, 1905:

कर सकि हौ तुम कर्म ही फलइच्छा न बनाउ ।  
युद्ध करौ, जिन कर्तृता जानौ अपने माउ ॥

M. SIMHA, 1909:

अब अधिकार कर्म में अर्जुन नाहि फलन सों हित्ता ।  
कर्मन के फल त्यागन करि तूं करहु कर्म थिर चिन्ता ॥

ŚRĪRĀMA ŚARMĀ, 1914:

कर्म करने मात्र का तेरा अधिकार है, फल मिलना कभी भी तेरे अधिकार, अर्थात् तावे में नहीं, (इसलिए मेरे कर्म का) अमुक फल मिले, यह हेतु (मन में) रख कर काम करनेवाला न हो, और कर्म न करने का भी तू आग्रह न कर ।

M. SAPRE, 1917:

कर्म करने का मात्र तेरा अधिकार है; फल (मिलना या न मिलना) कभी भी तेरे अधिकार अर्थात् तावे में नहीं; (इसलिए मेरे कर्म का) अमुक फल मिले, यह (लालची) हेतु (मन में) रख कर काम करनेवाला न हो; और कर्म न करने का भी तू आग्रह न कर ।

R. ŚARMĀ, 1920:

धर्म करने में तुम्हारा अधिकार है परंतु कर्मफल में तुम्हारा अधिकार नहीं है, तुम फल की इच्छा से कर्म में प्रवृत्त और कर्म के त्यागने में प्रीतियुक्त न होवो ।

N. ŚĀSTRĪ, 1924:

इस लिए केवल कर्म करने मात्र का तुमको अधिकार है, फल पर अधिकार नहीं, वह तो ईश्वर के अधीन है; इसलिए फल पर दृष्टि रख कर काम न करो और खाली भी न बैठो ।

K. KRISHNADĀSA, 1929:

हे अर्जुन ! तू आत्मा का सुख जो है तिस साथ जुड़, तेरा जो क्षत्रिय धर्म है सो कर, फल की कुछ वांछा न कर ।

K. JOŚĪ, ca. 1930:

अर्जुन ! अभी तुम्हारा अन्तःकरण, शुद्ध (रागद्वेषादि से सर्वथा विमुक्त) नहीं हुआ; इसलिए तुम्हारा कर्म में ही अधिकार है, ज्ञाननिष्ठारूप वेदांत वाक्यों के विचार आदि में नहीं है और कर्म करते हुए तुम्हारा उनके फलों में अधिकार किसी भी अवस्था में (कर्मानुष्ठान से पहले, पीछे या तत्काल में) नहीं है; अतः कर्मफल के हेतु तुम मत होओ, फलों के अभाव में कर्म न करने में भी तुम्हारी प्रीति न हो ।

D. BHĀRGAVA, 1933:

अधिकार केवल कर्म करने का, नहीं फल में कभी ।  
होना न तू फल हेतु भी, मत छोड़ देना कर्म भी ॥



NĀRĀYANA SVĀMĪ, 1936:

कर्म में ही तेरा अधिकार है, फलों में कभी नहीं। फल-हेतु तेरा कर्म मत हो, और अकर्म में तेरा संग मत हो।

S. MOHATĀ, 1937:

कर्म ही में तेरा अधिकार है, फल में कदापि नहीं, तेरे कर्म फल के उद्देश्य से न होवें और कर्म न करने में तेरी आसक्ति न होवे।

J. GOYANDAKĀ, 1939:

तेरा कर्म करने में ही अधिकार है, उसके फलों में कभी नहीं। इसलिए तू कर्मों के फल का हेतु मत हो तथा तेरी कर्म न करने में भी आसक्ति न हो।

D. GOSVĀMĪ, 1941:

है अधिकार कर्म करने में, फल में है अधिकार नहीं।  
फल की आशा छोड़ कर्म कर, बन न अकर्मों सार नहीं॥

BHOLE BĀBĀ, 1941:

तुम्हारा श्रुति-स्मृति-प्रतिपादित नित्य और नैमित्तिक कर्मों में ही अधिकार है, फल में कभी नहीं है; अतः कर्मफल के हेतु मत होओ और कर्म में आसक्त मत होओ।

S. P. DATTA, 1947:

तेरा अधिकार कर्म करने का है, फल पाने का नहीं। कर्म-फल का मतलबी मत बन, न कर्म न करने में ही आसक्ति रख।

J. PRAKĀŚA, 1949:

अधिकार कर्म में है तेरा वश में तेरे परिणाम नहीं।  
कारण फल का मत बनो मगर ठाली रहने का काम नहीं॥

(M. K. GĀNDHĪ), 1949:

कर्म में ही तुझे अधिकार है, उससे उत्पन्न होनेवाले अनेक फलों में कदापि नहीं। कर्म का फल तेरा हेतु न हो। कर्म न करने का भी तुझे आग्रह न हो।

B. KUMATHEKARA, 1950:

कर्म का अधिकारी तू न कर फल-कामना।  
न कर्म-फल में हेतु न हो राग अकर्म में॥

B. K. ŚĀSTRĪ, 1953:

कर्म में ही तुम अपने आपको लगाओ, कभी फल का विचार न करो और न तुम फल को अपने काम का बनाओ और न कर्म करना छोड़ो।

S. DĪKSHITA, 1954:

तेरा कर्तव्य केवल कर्म करना है, उसके फल की चिंता करना कदापि नहीं; इसलिए, कर्म का फल तेरा हेतु न हो, कर्म न करने का भी तुझे आग्रह न हो।

A. ŚARMĀ, 1959:

केवल तुझे अधिकार है, निज कर्म करने के लिये।  
सत्ता नहीं तुझको मिली, फल प्राप्त करने के लिये ॥  
यों छोड़कर फल वासना, कर्तव्य-पथ लवलीन हो।  
अपना करो तुम कर्म अर्जुन, कर्म से ना हीन हो ॥

S. D. SĀTAVALEKARA, 1961:

तेरा अधिकार कर्म करने में है; कदापि फलों पर नहीं। कर्मों के फल का हेतु धारण करनेवाला न बन और तेरी रुचि कर्म न करने में न होवे।

SANĀTANADEVA, 1962:

तुम्हारा अधिकार तो कर्म करने में ही होना चाहिए, किसी भी अवस्था में उसके फलों को भोगने में नहीं। तुम कर्मफल के हेतु मत बनो, और कर्म न करने में भी तुम्हारी आसक्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए।

VIRĀJA, 1962:

तुझे केवल कर्म करने का अधिकार है, उनके फल पर तेरा अधिकार बिल्कुल नहीं है। तेरा उद्देश्य कर्म का फल कभी न हो और न अकर्म (कर्मों का त्याग) के प्रति तेरा अनुराग हो।

T. ŚARMĀ, 1962:

मात्र कर्म (करने) में तुम्हारा अधिकार हो, (कर्म के) फलों में कभी न हो, तुम कर्म-फलों की अपेक्षा मत करो और कर्म न करने में तुम्हारी आसक्ति न हो।

V. AGRAVĀLA, 1964:

तुम्हारा वश कर्म पर है, फलों पर कभी नहीं; तुम कर्मफल के हेतु मत बनो और कर्मशून्य बन जाने का लोभ भी मत करो।

SIDDHĀNTĀLANKĀRA, 1965:

तुझे केवल कर्म करने का अधिकार है—अर्थात् केवल कर्म करना तेरे हाथ में है; कर्मों के फलों पर तेरा अधिकार कभी नहीं है अर्थात् फल मिलना या न मिलना कभी भी तेरे हाथ में नहीं है; इसलिए अमुक कर्म का अमुक फल अवश्य मिले—यह हेतु, यह इच्छा मन में रखकर काम करनेवाला तू न बन; अकर्म अर्थात् कर्म के त्याग के प्रति तेरा अनुराग न हो।

P. K. ŚARMĀ, 1970:

अधिकार तेरा कर्म में फल में कभी भी है नहीं।  
कर्मफल हेतु बनो नहीं तू संग अकर्म हो नहीं ॥



## VIŚVABANDHU, 1970:

(हे अर्जुन), कर्म करना मात्र ही तुम्हारे वस की बात हो सकती है, (कर्म का) फल प्राप्त करना तो कभी भी तुम्हारे वस में नहीं हो सकता। (इसलिए) कर्म के फल (की लालसा अथवा उससे ग्लानि) तुम्हारी प्रेरक न बने। (उक्त प्रेरणा के अभाव-वश प्रसादी हो कर) तुम अकर्मण्यता (के गर्त) में भी मत धंसो।

## VISHNUTĪRTHA, 1970:

तेरा अधिकार कर्म करने मात्र तक सीमित है, फल के लिए कदापि नहीं। तू स्वयं कर्म के फल का हेतु क्यों बनता है, और कर्म छोड़कर अकर्मण्य होने की भी इच्छा मत कर।

## G. NĀRĀYANA, 1972:

तेरा अधिकार कर्म में ही है नहीं फलों में पार्थ कभी  
कर्म करो मत फल के कारण नहीं अकर्मों बनो कभी।

## V. VIDEHA, 1972:

(कर्मणि एव अधि-कारः ते) कर्म में ही अधिकार तेरा, (मा फलेषु कदा चन) फलों में कदापि नहीं। (कर्म-फल-हेतुः) कर्मों के फल का हेतु (मा भूः) मत हो। (अ-कर्मणि) अकर्म में (ते) तेरा (सम्-नः) संग (मा अस्तु) न हो।

## V. VEDAVĀGĪSHA, 1973:

किसी कर्म का पाक प्राप्त कर लेना तुम्हारे हाथ में नहीं है, उसे तो भगवान ही देते हैं। तुम्हारा अधिकार केवल कर्म करने में है। फल लाभ में नहीं है। तुम जो कर्म करो वह परिणाम मिलने के निमित्त न हो। ऐसा सोच बैठना कि पता नहीं फल क्या होगा, इसलिए कर्म ही न करूँ, इसमें भी तुम्हारा लगाव नहीं होना चाहिए।

## S. N. ŚĀSTRĪ, 1973:

तुम्हारा अधिकार कर्म में ही है। फलों में नहीं। फल के निमित्त कर्म करनेवाला मत बनो। कर्म न करने में तुम्हारी अभिरुचि न हो।

## J. S. SĀRASVATA, 1973:

हे अर्जुन, तेरा अधिकार अर्थात् योग्यता, कर्म ही करने में है, उसके फल ग्रहण करने में कभी भी नहीं है; इसलिए तू कर्मफल का कारण मत हो, क्योंकि फल की इच्छा होने से ही प्राणी कर्मफल भोगने का कारण होता है, अर्थात् अपने हाथों से अपने गर्भ में छुरी लगाता है और कर्मबंधन में पड़ जाता है, जिससे कल्पान्तपर्यन्त आवागमन के दुःख से दुःखी होता रहता है। फिर नित्य नैमित्तिक कर्म के न करने में भी तेरी आसक्ति न हो, अर्थात् कर्म तो तू सब कर, पर उसके फल की इच्छा मत कर, और निषिद्ध कर्म भी मत कर।

## An., (Hin. 18), (?), 1975:

(दोहा) तू अधिकारी कर्म में, फलसों हेत न लाहु।  
कर्मन के फल छाड़ि दे, अकरम ढिग मत जाहु ॥

(भाषा टीका) हे अर्जुन ! तुमको केवल कर्म के करने का अधिकार है उक्त कार्यों के करने से बंधन के कारण फलों में तुम्हारा अधिकार नहीं है। तुम कदापि कर्म के फल की इच्छा न करना और वैसे ही कर्म न करने का भी साहस न करना।

K. VIŚVĀNANDA, 1976:

तुम्हारा स्वधर्म विहित कर्म करने मात्र में ही अधिकार है, उसके फल में कभी नहीं; और कर्मफल तुम्हारे कर्म करने का हेतु न होवे; तथा तुम्हारी कर्म न करने में अर्थात् अकर्म में भी प्रीति न होवे।

M. ŚUKLA, 1980:

कर्महि केवल तव अधिकारु । तोरे वश नहि फलहि विचारु ॥  
तेहिते तजिय कर्म फल चाहा । तजहु अकर्म मोह नर नाहा ॥

#### 4.3.f. List of Hindi translations:

1. an., *BG* (in manuscript), e.g. Hindī Mss., No. 1, Library Lucknow Un.; also in Punjab Un. Library; Bibliothèque Nat., Paris; Geneva, etc.
2. an., *BG bhāshānuvāda*, (Ms. with 18 commentaries interspersed after each *śloka* with special *Ranavīrasamudbodhinī* commentary and Hindi translation, prepared for the Mahārājā Ranavīra Simha of Jammu-Kashmir), Raghunātha Temple Mss., No. 2711-28, copied ca. 1860; 3304 folios.
3. an., *BG artha sahita*, 1803. See above, p. 126.
4. an., *BG Bālābodhinī tīkā* (prose), 1810. See above, p. 127.
5. an., *BG sārtha*, 1815. See above, p. 127.
6. an., *BG*, with commentary of Ānandagiri; or with *Arthaprakāśikā*, *Subodha-kaumudī*, *Amrita-varshinī*, in various editions.
7. an., *BG bhāshā-tīkā*, (Ānanda-vana Press), Vārānasī, 1875.
8. an., *MBh bhāshā*, 5 vols., (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1888.
9. an., *BG*, Calcutta, 1894; also a *Hansa-nādinī bhāshā-tīkā*, in 18 vols., Alavara.
- an., *Hindī MBh*, ed. by Śaraccandra Soma with help of translators, Calcutta, ca. 1900.
10. an., *MBh* (Sanskrit text with Hindī and English tr.), (Ramakrishna & Co.), Moradabad, 1902-8, 14 vols.
- an., *BG*, (with com.), (Pranavāśrama), Benares, n.d. (before 1917).
11. an., *SBG sarala bhāshā-tīkā sahita* (Bhāratasena Printing Press), Bombay, 1919.
12. an., *Gītāmrita*, (text, tr. and com.), (Rājapāla & Sons), Lahore, 1921.
13. an., *SBG amrita-taranginī sarala bhāshā-tīkā sahita*, (Sanskrit Press), Bombay, 1922. Also *amrita-ranginī*.
- an., *SBG*, (Sastum Sāhitya Kāryālaya, Hindī ed.), Ahmadabad, ca. 1923.
14. an., *SBG*, Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, (1924), 38th ed., 1978; see GO-YANDAKĀ; numerous editions of the *BG*, with e.g. *Vishnusahasranāma*, 128 pp.; in *tābījī* form, 296 pp.; *sacitra* with *sādhārana tīkā*, 352 pp.; within *Pancaratna*, 184 pp.; *mote aksharavālī*, 216 pp.;



- māhātmya sahita, satika*, in *lāhaurī*, 424 pp.; with *padaccheda* and *bhāvārtha*, in *majhalī*, 468 pp.; *sādhārana bhāshā-tīkā*, with *tippanī* and *pradhāna vishaya*, 316 pp.; *kevala bhāshā*, in big type, 192 pp.; within *samkshipta MBh, sacitra* (2 vols.), 1969, etc.
15. an., *BG* (text with *bhāshā-tīkā*), (Sarasvati Pustakamālā, 12, Hindi Sāhitya Press), Allahabad, 1925.
16. an., *Hindī Gītā*, (B. Kedia), Calcutta, 1925.
- 16a. an., *Śrīkrishna Sandeśa athavā Hindī Gītā*, (Śrī Rāma Press), Jhansi, ca. 1927.
17. an., *BG*, (with text-analysis, tr. and com.), (Govinda-bhavana), Calcutta, 1930 (6th ed.).
- an., *BG bhāvārtha, lāvanī* verse and *anokhe khyāla* (3 essays: *Dharmopadeśa, Īśvaraprārthanā* and *Vedāntarāmāyana*).
18. an., *SBG*, (with *dohā-bhāshā* and *tīkā*), (Bhārgava Book Depot), Vārānasī, [...], 1975; (several publications, also within MBh, etc.). See 4.3.e.
19. an., *Gītā sacitra*, (pictorial, also in English, Marathi, Bengali...), (Amar Chitra Kathā Series, No. 127), n.d.
20. ĀCĀRYA, Keśavadeva, *Gītā-vijnāna*, (based on Aurobindo, *Essays on the Gītā*, with *padaccheda, anvaya, anuvāda* and *bhāvārtha*), (Divya Jivana Sāhitya Prakāśana, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press), Pondicherry, 1965.
21. ĀCĀRYA, Śrīrāma Śarmā, *Caubīsa gītā* (24 Gītās, incl. *SBG*), (Sanskrit Sansthan), Bareilly, 1971.
22. AGNIHOTRĪ, Gangāprasāda, *Sapta-śloki-gītā*, (selected verses with tr. and com. in support of *go-rakshā!*), Jabalpur, 1926.
23. AGRAVĀLA, Ganēśprasāda, *Gītā-Jnāneśvarī*, (Hindi *padyānuvāda* in *dohā-sorathā chanda*; ed. by Venaśankara Śāstrī, publ. by Rāma-sanehī Agravāla, Dharma Press), Delhi, 1957, 778 pp.
24. AGRAVĀLA, Vāsudeva Śarana, *Gītā navaṇīta*, (text, tr. and com.), (Bhārgava Bhushana Press), Vārānasī, 1964. See above, 4.3.d, e. See also his Preface to S. K. Belvalkar's critical BG-edition, BHU, Benares, 1962; see also No. 25.
25. AGRAVĀLA, V. S., *Bhārata sāvitri*, (MBh prose selections), (Sastā Sāhitya Mandala), New Delhi, 1957.
26. AKHANDĀNANDA, Svāmī, *BG*, 1923; also *Gītādarśana*, 5 vols.
27. ALĀVALAPURĪ, Hitaishī, *Gītā-gāna*, (verse tr.), (Rājapāla & Sons), Lahore, 1938.
28. ĀNANDAGIRI, Parivrājaka, *SBG bhāshā-tīkā sahita*, (Native Opinion Press), Bombay, 1915.
29. ĀNANDAGIRI, Śrī Svāmī, *BG paramānanda-prakāśikā*, (tr. and com.), (Hindu Press), Delhi, 1873 and (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1877.
- 29a. ĀNANDAKUMĀRA, *SBG*, (Ananda-Paperbacks), Delhi, ca. 1980. Also *MBh-story*.
30. ĀNANDARĀMA, Nājara, *BG paramānanda-prabodha-nāmanī bhāshā*, (with verse com.), ca. 1870 (See Braj. 3).
31. ĀRYAMUNI (Jī), Śrī Pandita, (*Vaidika*) *Gītā with yoga-pradīpārya bhāshya*, (Bombay Press), Lahore, 1907...; Benares, 1924 (6th) (600 pp.); (Dayānanda Sansth.), New Delhi, 1976. Also *MBh*, Lahore, 1914.
32. ĀTMĀNANDA, Svāmī, *SBG-bhāshya*, Lahore, 1944. See also MUNI, Śrīsvāmī Ātmānanda.

33. ĀTMĀRĀMA and RĀDHĀKRISHNA, *Gītā-sāra*, (with Hindi and Gujarati tr.), (Jayadeva Bros.), Baroda (1927), 1941.
34. ĀTMĀRĀMA, R. R. M., *Bālopyogī Gītā-sāra*, (with Hindi and Gujarati tr.), (Jayadeva Bros.), Baroda, 1957. See Mal. 5.
- AUROBINDO, see ĀCĀRYA, K.; PRASĀDA, K. S.; VEDĀ-LANKĀRA, J.
35. AVASTHĪ, Bhagavānadāsa, *Sacitra MBh* (abridged), (Jnānaloka), Allahabad, 1941 (1120 pp.).
36. AVASTHĪ, Mādhava Rāva, *BG*, (verse), Kanpur, 1927.
- AYYAR, Subrahmanya. see Mal. 11.
37. BADRILĀLA, Gusāim, *BG*, (prose tr. and com.), ca. 1860. See above, 4.3.c.
38. BASAKA, Bhuvanacandra, *BG*, (with com. of Śankara, Ānandagiri and Dhruvasvāmī), Calcutta, 1870.
39. BHAGARE, Raghunātha Mādhava, *Jnāneśvarī*, (Indian Press), Allahabad, 1940 (rev. ed.).
40. BHAGAVADĀCĀRYA, Paramahansa Parivrājaka Panditarāja Svāmī, *Bhagavad-bhāṣya*, (Sanskrit paraphrase com., chs. 1-6, with *Tattva-vimarśa* Hindi Introd.), (Śrī Rāmānanda Press), Alvāra, Allahabad, 1956.
41. BHAGAVĀNA, Svāmī, *BG* (with *Sahajārtha-dīpikā* com.), (Premier Publ.), Benares, 1961. See above, 4.3.d.
42. BHAGAVĀNADĀSA, Niranjinī, *Gītāmāhātmyam*, n.d.
43. BHAGAVATĀNANDA, *BG*, (with *Gītāmrita manjushā vyākhyā* and *Caitachīdāsa bhāṣhā*), 1969 (2nd ed. with *Bhāratī Bosa bhāṣhā*).
- BHAKTIVEDANTA, see PRABHUPĀDA.
44. BHANE, Banakoba, *Gītātattvabodha*, (tr. and com.), (Sarvaseva-sangha), Benares, 1973.
45. BHĀRADVĀJA, Motīlāla Śarmā, “Gaudha”, *Gītāvijnāna bhāṣhya* with *jñānayoga-parīkṣhā* (introd.), *bahiranga-parīkṣhā* (vol. 1: *Bhūmikā*, in 2 parts; vol. 2: *Śrī krishna-tatva*; vol. 3: *Mūla bhāṣhya*) and separate *parīkṣhā-s* of *ātmā*, *brahmakarma*, *jñānayoga*, *bhaktiyoga* (part I, 516 pp.; part II, 702 pp.), *buddhiyoga* and *gītāsāra*; (T. U. Asiatic Vedic Research Soc.), Jaipur, 1939-41. See above, 4.3.d.
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- MUNŚĪ, H. L., see HARIVAMŚALĀLA.
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- 155a. NANDAKIŚORA, *SBG*, Kanpur, ca. 1930.
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157. NĀRĀYANA, Gadādhara, *SBG*, (metric tr. as transcreation or *kāvyanuracanā*), (Garuda Paperbacks), Jamshedpur, (1972), 1973. See 4.3.d, e. See also VIŚVĀNANDA, K.
158. NĀRĀYANA, see SVĀMĪ.
159. NAVARANGA, Svāmī, *BG ke prāśna*, (*Praśnottara* in prose), Ms., n.d. See Engl. 43.
160. NIRANJANA, Bhagavānadāsa, *BG-tikā*, Ms., (Cat. of Oriental Mss., No. 1709, Ujjain).
161. OJHĀ, Madhusūdana, *Vijnāna-bhāshya*, 4 vols.
- 162-63. OJHĀ, Rāmāvatāra, *SBG*, (with Śankara's com.), (Biharbandhu Press), Bankipore, 1880. Also *BG Śankara-mata prakāśa*, (Śiva-prasāda), Patna, 1910.
- PADAN, Jankī Nāth, see Urdu 15.
164. PĀNDEYA, Rāmanārāyana Datta Śāstri, "RĀMA" *MBh-sacitra*, (*sarala anuvāda*), 6 vols., (Gītā-Press), Gorakhpur, 1958, (BG in 3rd vol., *Bhīshmaparva*, pp. 2597-2812 with copious footnotes).
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166. PARĀDAKARA, Bāburāva Vishnu, *SBG*, Calcutta, 1914.
167. PARAMAHANSA, *Gītāsāra*, Ms.
168. PARAŚURĀMA, Pandita, *BG*, 1923.
169. PĀRTHASĀRATHĪ, *Samaślokī BG*, (verse), Ms.
170. PĀTHAKA, Ganeśa Śāstri, *SBG*, (with Śrībāla *bodhinī vyākhyā*), (K. M. Pāthaka, Education Society's Steam Press), Bombay, 1893; Lahore, 1928.
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175. (PRABHUPĀDA, Bhaktivedānta S.P., A.C.), (Hindi edition of his English "The BG as it is", see above, p. 95).
176. PRAKĀŚA, Jnāna, *SBG aur usakā sarala padyānuvāda*, (in the style of Rādheśyāma's Rāmāyana), (Gautam Bk. Depot), Delhi, 1949. See above, 4.3.d, e. Also *Ādi-BG* (84 verses: an amalgamation of 2 Gītās, one of them discovered in the Bali island near Java, inscribed on palm-leaves, while the other at Farrukhabad, carved on a bronze plate. Text with *padaccheda*, *padārtha* in Hindi and English), Faizabad, 1936.
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- 177a. PRĀMĀNIKA, Ganeśa Candra (disciple of Svāmī Māyānanda), *Gītānuśilana*, 3 vols., (Indian Press), Allahabad, 1924-28.
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180. PRASĀDA, Krishna Śambhu, *Śrī Aravinda kī Gītā*, (based on A. Roy's Engl. ed. of Aurobindo), (D. M. Library), Calcutta, n.d.
181. PRASĀDA, Raghunātha, *BG*, with *Amritaranginī bhāshātikā*, 1924.
182. PRASĀDA, Rāma, *BG*, (with com.), (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1905.
183. PURĪ, Mangalānanda, *Prācīna BG*, (Sattaraślokī Gītā), Allahabad, 1925.
- 183a. PUROHITA, Rāmapratāpa, *Gītāvijnāna* (verse tr.; Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, 1932 (2nd); see 4.3.c, n. 1.
184. PŪTHIYĀ, Lālamani, *SBG sarala bhāshā-tīkā sahita*, (Krishneśvari Press), Moradabad, 1925.
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- RADHAKRISHNAN, see ĀTMĀRAMA; VIRĀJA.
- RADHEŚYĀMA, *Gītā*, (in the form of a *kāvya* with *Arjuna moha*, *ātmā kī amaratā*, *karmayoga*, *virātarūpadarśana*, *jīvabrahmaviveka*, *Arjuna kā samādhāna*).
- RAGHUNĀTHA, see RĀYA.
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197. SANEHĪ, Navanadāsa, Alakha, *Gītāsāra*, Ms. of 1849.
198. SAPRE, Mādhava Rāva, *SBG rahasya athavā karmayogaśāstra* (tr. of Tilak's Marathi com., with *bahirangaparīkshā, mūla śloka, bhāshā-ānuvāda, arthanirnāyaka tippanī, pūrvī aura paścimī matom kī tulanā*; the poet Maithilīśarana Gupta helped for some passages), (J. S. Tilak), Poona, (1917), 1976 (16th). See 4.3.d. Also *MBh-mīmāmsā* (tr. of Vināyaka Vaidya's Marathi summary), (Lakshmi-nārāyana Press), Benares, 1920 (BG on pp. 559-603).
- SĀRASVATA, see UDĀSĪNA.
199. SARASVATĪ, Svāmī Darśananda, see DĪKSHITA, G.; ŚĀSTRĪ, B. K.
200. SARASVATĪ, Svāmī Anantānanda, *BG*, (with *Śāṅkarabhāshya* in simple tr.), (Caukhambā Viśvabhāratī), Vārānāsī, n.d.
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- 209a. ŚARMĀ, Paśupati Kumāra, *Aum Gītā* (verse; Grāmodaya Press), Muzaffarpur, 1970. See 4.3.d-e.
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- 210a. ŚARMĀ, Rājendra, *MBh*, (abridged), (Ananda Paperbacks), New Delhi, 1977.
- ŚARMĀ, Rāma, see ŚĀSTRĪ, Satyācarana.
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- (text and tr.), ed. by Rāmacandra Śarmā, Moradabad, 1925 (Bhīṣma-parva, 1917).
213. ŚARMĀ, Rāmeśvaradatta, *SBG*, (*māhātmya sahita, bhāshā lāhaurī*), (Bābū Brijanātha Prasāda Bookseller), Benares, 1942 (5th). See above 4.3.d.
- ŚARMĀ, Sadāśiva, see UPADHYĀYA, M.
214. ŚARMĀ, Śrīmādhava, *SBG Śrīgītārthaprakāśa* (*māhātmya*, introd., text, analysis, tr. and com.; with *Pushpa* of Madana Mohana MĀLA-VIYA's *Gītā-pravacana*), Varanasi, (ch. 1, 1935), ch. 2: 1-10, 1936.
- 214a. ŚARMĀ, Tārinīśa, *SBG*, (ch. 2, with grammatical analysis), (R. Beniprasāda), Allahabad, 1962. See 4.3.c.
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- 215a. ŚARMĀ, Vrajakumāra, “Śrikara”, *Śrīkrishna gītāmrita* (free verse tr., with *māhātmya* and introd.; ed. by Mrs. Gārgī Śarmā; Rāma Publ.), Sitapur, 1971.
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218. ŚĀSTRĪ, Angada, *Gītā Bhāshā*, (prose), 1850.
219. ŚĀSTRĪ, Bihārīlāla Kāvya-tīrtha, *SBG Siddhānta*, (Prema Pustaka Bhandāra), Bareilly, 1953; (a revision of the Svāmī Darśanānanda Sarasvatī com., 1898; see DĪKSHITA, G. C.). See above, 4.3.d, e.
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- ŚĀSTRĪ, H., see BHĀRGAVA, D. D.
222. ŚĀSTRĪ, Madhusūdana, *SBG*, (with Sanskrit *Madhusūdanī* and Hindi *Bālakrīdā* com.), 2 vols.
223. ŚĀSTRĪ, Naradeva, “Vedatīrtha”\*, *Gītā-vimarśa*, (tr. and com.), (Śarmā Machine Print. Press), Moradabad, 1924. See above, 4.3.d, e.
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- ŚĀSTRĪ, Rāmabhadra, see ŚĀSTRĪ, Gajānana.
226. ŚĀSTRĪ, Rāmaranga, *BG*, (with Hindi and English tr., chs. 1-6), (Enad Bros.), Anarkali-Lahore, 1901.
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\*Also called “jela-tīrtha”, because of one year and three months' confinement in jail!

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- ŚĀSTRĪ, Svāmī Śrī Yogīndrānanda, see SANĀTANADEVA.
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234. SIMHA, Gadādhara, *SBG*, (Chandraprabha Press), Benares, 1896. See above, 4.3.d.
235. SIMHA, Jasavanta, *BG bhāṣhā tīkā*, Ms., 18-
236. SIMHA, Malakhāna, *SBG padya bhāṣhānuvāda sahita*, (*Gītāmāhātmya*, text and tr. side by side; *śabdārtha-dīpikā*), (Indian Press), Allahabad, 1909. See above, 4.3.d, e.
237. SIMHA, Navala, *Mūla-bhārata*, (verse imitation of *MBh*), ca. 1855. Also SIMHA, Sabala (?), *MBh-bhāṣhā*, 1920.
- 237a. SIMHA, Śrī Vyohāra Rājendra, *Hindī samaśloki Gītā*, (Mānasa Mandira), Jabalpur, ca. 1942.
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- ŚIVĀNANDA, Sarasvatī, Svāmī, see MUKTĀRĀNĪ.
240. SOMĀNĪ, Gangāvishnujī Maheśvarī, *Gītā-sāra-ratna-mālā*, (Lakshmi-Venkatesvara Press), Bombay, 1916.
241. SOMASUNDARAM, P., *MBh-kathā*, (abridged, based on Rājagopālācārī's Tamil version), (Sastā Sāhitya Mandala Prakāśana), New Delhi, 1949; 1981 (12th ed.).
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243. ŚUKLA, Kānyakunja Śrīyukta Pandita Jagannātha, *SBG, Manabhāvanī bhāṣhā-tīkā sameta*, (Jnānaratna Press), Calcutta, (1867), 1877. Also *SBG*, (with commentaries of Ānandagiri, Śankara, Śrīdhara, and own *Manabhāvanī bhāṣhā*), (Jnānaratna Press), Calcutta, 1866-67; see above, 4.3.c, d.
244. ŚUKLA, Mādhavilatā, *Mādhava Gītā*, (Brihaspati Prakāśana, Kanpur), Benares, 1980. See above, 4.3.d, e.
245. ŚUKLA (SUKAL), Matsukala Sitārāmātmaja Pandita Raghunātha Prasāda, *Gītāmṛita-ranginī*, (text with Hindi tr. and paraphrase), (Khemarāja Śrīkrishnadāsa), Bombay, 1867. See above, 4.3.c.
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- 246a. ŚUKLA, Sarjū Prasāda, *SBG* (chs. 1-2, in verse), Rai Bareilly, ca. 1927.
247. ŚUKLA (SUKULA), Sūryadīna, *Manōramā bhāṣhā-tīkā*, (in verse, preceded by MBh summary) (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1917.
248. SUNDARADĀSA, BG, Ms., (Cat. of Orient. Mss., No. 1687, Ujjain).
- 248a. SŪRAJAMALA, Setha, *Gītā-sūryaparakāśa* (verse), Delhi, ca. 1926. See 4.3.d.
249. SVĀMĪ, Dhīrānanda, *BG-sāra*, (*padyānuvāda sahita*), (Nidyavati Mirā), Lahore, n.d.
- 250-51. SVĀMĪ, Nārāyana, *SBG*, (with *Bhagavadāśayārtha-dīpikā*), 2 vols., (Anglo-Arabic Press), Lucknow, 1917, 1936, 1940\*. See above, 4.3.d, e.
252. SVATANTRĀNANDA, or "Pitarāma Mahātmā Śrī Śrī 1008 Śrī Svāmī Svatantṛānanda Jī Mahārāja", *Śrī BG-tīkā "Tattva-darśinī"*, (Introd. by Devanārāyana Pāndeya; *Gītāmāhātmya, prastāvanā*; tr. interspersed with running commentary esp. in the form of quotations from the Śāstras. . .), (Mahatāba Rāya), Vārānasī, 1960, 608 pp.
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- TILAKA, L., see SAPRE, S.
254. TIVĀRĪ, Īśvaraprasāda, *BG bhāṣhā*, (with com. of Biharilāla Kāśmirī), (H. Vaidya), Calcutta, 1916.
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256. TRIPĀTHĪ, Avadbihārī Śarana, *BG*, Howrah, 1940.
257. TRIPĀTHĪ, Ramākānta, *Sacitra Hindi MBh*, (Hindi Pustak Agency), Calcutta, 1936.
258. TRIPĀTHĪ, Umādatta, Panditavara, *SBG navala bhāṣhya*, (a paraphrased tr. with Sanskrit com. of Śankara, Anandagiri, Śrīdhara and own *Tattvavivekāmṛita* com.), 2 vols., (Navalakiśora Press, made at the request of Munśī Navala Kiśora-jī), Lucknow, 1888, 884 pp. See above, 4.3.d, e.
259. (TULASĪDĀSA), *BG(?) "Suparnom kā cahacahā"*, (verse tr.) (J. Nāgapāla), Agra, 1960.
260. TULASĪRĀMA, Svāmī, *BG* (with com.), (Svāmī Machine Press), Meerut, (1911), 1916.

\*Śrī Nārāyana Svāmī, disciple of Śrī Rāmatīrtha, founded the "Śrī Rāmatīrtha Publication League" in 1919, Lucknow. One day, a "gītābhakta" told him how he tried to produce his own translation and commentary (Moradabad, 1910). Nārāyana-jī showed interest and, since it was in Urdu (Nāgarī script), he reworked it completely into a *Nārāyana-bhāṣhya*, first in Urdu in Nāgarī script, then in Hindi (1910-12). The first volume was printed in Lucknow, 1916. Then he came across Tilak's commentary, and influenced by it reworked his own commentary, "advaita-siddhāntānusāra". The 2nd volume appeared only in 1928 (1st ed.). The translator-commentator felt dissatisfied and revised his work again in 1936. Thus a new edition appeared as a *Bhagavadāśayārthadīpikā*: 1st vol. *SBG kī prastāvanā*, (dealing with the Hindu Philosophy of Life, Conduct and Emancipation), 536 pp.; 2nd vol. *SBG*, 832 pp. (analysis, words numbered in logical sequence with meaning, *sambandhinī* and com.).

261. UDĀSĪNA, Gangesvarānanda, *BG*, (with Introd., 236 pp.; from ch. 2 onwards tr. by SĀRASVATA, Jagannātha Śāstrī), (Bhārgava Bhūshana), Benares, 1973, 666+53 pp. See 4.3.d, e.
- 262-63. UMĀDĀSA, (with RĀMANĀTHA, AMRITA RĀYA, CANDA, KUBERA, NIHĀLA, HAMSARĀJA, MANGALARĀYA, DEVĪ-DATTARĀYA), "*Nau kavi*" *MBh Bhāshā*, (19th c.?).
- UMĀDATTA, see TRIPĀTHĪ, U.
264. UMĀRĀNIKARA, Śankara Vāsudeva, *Gītāmrita*, (metric version), (Tilak Pāthashālā Hindi Vidyālaya), Nipani, 1969.
265. UPĀDHYĀYA, Haribhau, *Hindī-Gītā*, (verse), (Hindi Pracharak Sansthan), Benares, 1970 (2nd).
266. UPĀDHYĀYA, Muktirāma and ŚARMĀ, Sadaśiva, *BG bhāshya*, (Gurukula Pothohar), Rāvalpindi, 1935.
267. VAIDYA, Haridāsa, *BG*, (Narasimha Press), Calcutta, (1919), 1923. Also with Śankara's com., (Haridās & Co.), Calcutta, 1913.
268. VAIŚYA, Deviprasāda, *SBG*, (Ayurvedic Press), Meerut, 1915. See above, 4.3.d.
269. VAJHE, Lakshmana Rāva Bālakrishna, *Sarala bodhagītā*, Raipur, 1965.
270. VALLABHA (JĪ), Hari, *BG*, (verse), (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1921.
271. VARMĀ, Rāmacandra, *Hindī Jnāneśvarī*, (prose), (Hindī Sāhitya Kutira), Vārānasi, (1937), 1961.
272. VARMĀ, Śankaralāla, *BG*, (Sastā Sāhitya Mandala), New Delhi, 1939 (a tr. of K. Maśarūvālā's Gujarati *Gītāmāthana*).
273. VARMĀ, Thākura Sūryakumāra, *Bāla-bhārata*, (Indian Press), Allahabad, (1906), 1914 (6th). Also *Bāla-gītā*.
- 273a. VARMAN, Gopālalāla, *Lokapriya Gītā*, (in popular language), (Pancavatī Co.), Varanasi, 1980.
274. VĀSUDEVA, Haridatta, *SBG*, (preface by Raghunāthadatta Bandhu Śāstrī), (Vasant Press), Dehradun, 1950. See above, 4.3.d.
275. VASUDEVA, "Kavi", *Gītā-ratna-mālā*, (*sarala aura sarasa padyā-nuvāda*), (Vanik Press), Calcutta, 1924-25.
276. VĀSUDEVA, (Sanādhya), *BG*, (prose com. on chs. 1-2), Ms.
277. VEDĀLANKĀRA, Jagannātha, *Gītāprabandha*, (of Śrī Aravinda), 2 vols., (Śrī Aurobindo Society), Pondicherry, 1969.
- 277a. VEDA VĀGISHA, Vedānanda, *Gītā-viveka*, (own Skt. titles, text, *anvaya*, *vyotismatī* com. in easy Skt., *dīptimatī* com. with Hindi tr.; Hariyāna Sāhitya Sansthāna; Dayānanda Matha), Rohtak, 1973. See 4.3.d-e.
278. "VIDEHA", Vidyānanda, *Gītāyoga vyākhyā*, (text, tr. and com.; Index to first words), (Vedasansthāna, 60; Print House), Ajmer, 1972, 306 pp. See above, 4.3.d, e, and p. 130.
- 278a. VIDYĀLANKĀRA, Buddhadeva, "Śvāmī Samarpananda", *BG* with *Samarpanabhāshya*, (Ārya Samāja), Meerut, 1982.
279. VIDYĀNANDA, *Gītā gaurava bhāshya*.
280. "VIDYĀRTHĪ", Keśava Prakāśa, *Sarala Gītā*, (poetic tr.), Mandasaur, 1969.
281. VIRĀJA, *SBG*, (translation of S. Rādhākṛishnan's com.); (Rājapāla), Delhi, (1962), 1972 (4th). See above, 4.3.d, e.
282. "VIŚĀRADA", Rāmalagna Pāndeya, *MBh-bhāshā*, (18 *parvom kā sampūrna varnana*), (Bhārgava Pustakālaya), Benares, (1933); 1938 (3rd).



- VISHNUDĀSA MBh, “in Bhāshā Gwāliyārī”, (1435 A.D.). See above, p. 126.
283. VISHNUPARĀDAKARA, Bāburāva, *SBG sarala bhāshāntara sahita*, (B. L. Press), Calcutta, 1914.
284. VISHNUTĪRTHA, Svāmī, *Gītā-tattvāmrita*, (Vijnāna Press), Rishikesh, 1970, 328 pp. See 4.3.d-e.
285. VIŚVĀNANDA, Kinkara, and NĀRĀYANA, Gadādhara, *SBG*, (with Hindī tr. of S. OMKĀRANĀTHA’s Bengali version and com., called ‘Omkāra Bhāshya’), New Delhi, 1976; (22+581 pp.). See above, 4.3.d, e.
286. VIVEKANĀTHA, *SBG*, *Uttameśvarī bhāshā-tikā*, (Yogeśvara Matha), Bikaner, 1960.
287. VRAJAMOHANALĀLA, *Gītā-sāra*, (selected verses), (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1920.
288. VYĀKARANĀCĀRYA, Madanamohana Pāthaka, *SBG-bhāshā-tikā, dohā sahita*, (Bhārgava Bhūshana Press), Benares, 1921.
289. VYĀSA (Jī), *BG*, Lucknow, 1880.
290. VYĀSA, Rāmādhārī Śarmā, *BG*, (verse), 1908.
- YOGĪNDRĀNANDA, Svāmī, see DEVA, Svāmī.

TOTAL : 313

#### 4.4. Translations into Urdu

Urdu is spoken by about 30 million people in India and about 30 million in Pakistan; it is the state language of Jammu and Kashmir and the official language of Pakistan. The language flourished as a mixed form of Persian and Braja Bhāshā under Mughal court patronage and, after some decay, came to a renewed literary form with Sayyed Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Iqbal (see above, 4.3.a).

Portions of the Bible were translated into Urdu in 1805, at Fort William College, while the complete Bible (*al-Kitāb*) appeared in 1839-43. The first Urdu version of the BG was published probably long before 1905 (Chuttanalāla). References in Perso-Arabic script are spelled below according to the available sources.

List of Urdu translations:

- an., *Gajal Gītā*, (12th ch.; Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, ca. 1939.
1. ATHAR, J’afar ‘Alī Khān, *Naghma-ī jāvid*, (Rajmahal Publ.), Jammu, n.d.
2. ‘AZĪZ, Mevālāl, *BG*, (Nation. Press), Allahabad, 1949.
3. BHĀRGAVA, Bhagavānadāsa, *BG*, (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1927.
- 3a. BHĀRGAVA, Harirāma, *SBG-bhāshā*, (Rāmakumāra Press), Lucknow, n.d.
4. CHUTTANALĀLA, Munśī, *SBG Mumukshabhāshya* (also in Urdu *najama*), 1905, (see Hin. 67).
5. DAYĀL, Prabhu, “Ashiq Lakhnavi”, *Ghizā-i rūh*, (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1925.

6. DAYĀL, Shankar, "Nigār", *SBG*, (Nizāmī Press), Lucknow, 1931.
- 6a. DIL MUHAMMAD, Khwaja, *BG*, Lahore, ca. 1930; *Dil kī Gītā*, (verse tr.), (Azad Bk. Dt.), Amritsar, n.d.
7. HUSNUDDĪN, *Naghma-i-alvahiyat*, (*Idara-i-'ilmia*), Hyderabad, 1950. Also HASANUDDĪN MUHAMMAD, *SBG*, (Nat. Bk. Trust), New Delhi, 1975.
8. JAGANNĀTHA, Lālā, *BG*, (with *Madhusūdanī* com.), Firozpur, n.d.
9. JĀNAKĪNĀTHA, *BG*, (prose and verse tr.), Mathura, (5th ed.), 1922; *Makhajane Isharār*, (only 14 chapters), Lucknow, 1914.
10. KHĀN, Muhammad Ajmal, *BG*, *yā naghma-i-khudāvandi*, (*Idara-i-navāmis-i-ilāhiya*), Allahabad, 1935.
- 10a. KRISHNADĀSA, Kishoradāsa, *SBG*, (Punjab Pustak Bhandar), Delhi, n.d.
11. MEHAR, Munśī Sūryanārāyana, *SBG*, (prose and verse tr.), Delhi (2nd ed.), 1925. Also a *Philasaphā-e-gītā*.
12. MĪŚRA, Adya Prasāda, (see Hin. 140), *BG*, (chs. 2-3 in Urdu prose and verse), 1905-9.
13. MUNŚĪ, Mū'alafah Dīwān Mayā Dās Gharīb, (see Hin. 154), *SBG pākita*, 1908-10.
- NĀRĀYANA, Svāmī, (worked on Urdu version of a *Gītābhakta* from Moradabad, 1910). See Hin. 250.
14. NAZAR, Yugīrāj, *Kalām-i-rabbāni*, (verse tr.), Ambala, 1931.
15. PADAN, Jankī Nāth, *SBG*, (originally in Hindi), (Hari Showaget Singh), Rohri-Pakistan, n.d.
16. PATA, Śāntinārāyana, *SBG Rahasya*, Lahore, 1917; (tr. of Tilak, Marāthī).
17. PARSHĀD, Munshī Jagannāth, *Mukammal falsafah i tauhīd nishkāṁ karmyūg, mausūm bah sar-chashmah i 'irfān* *SBG*, (*Asli nazm ba zabān i Sanskrit aur uskā Urdū zabān mē tarjamah ma'ah nazmhā'e dīgar. 'Itr i Gītā manzūm ba zabān i Urdū Mu'allifah wa mutarjimah wa musannifah*; in Persian and Nāgarī characters), (Nāmī Press), Meerut, 1925.
18. PRASĀD, Vishveshvar, *Naseem-i-Irfān*, (Ādarsh Kitābghar), Delhi, 1955, 258 pp.
- 18a. PREMASĀGARA, Śrī Sukhasāgara *SBG*, (Bhai J. K. Singh), Amritsar, n.d.
19. "RAĪS", Dayal Śrīvāstava, *SBG*, (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1963.
20. RĀMAMOHAṆ, *BG*, 1924.
21. "SADR", Laksman Prasad, "Lakhnāvi", *Sadr kī Gītā in mauzum* verse, (Ādarsh Kitābghar), Delhi, (1910, *BG-i-mauzum*), 1962.
22. SAKSENĀ, Devīprasāda, *BG*, (in *gajala chanda*), Maupuri, (U.P.), n.d.
23. SARASVATĪ, Svāmī, Darśanānanda, (see Hin. 79).
24. SAROVARA, Lakshmi Nārāyana (Surura); (see Hin. 216).
25. ŚRĪRĀM, *BG*, (*Bhishmaparva*, pp. 21-161), Lucknow, n.d.
26. VARMA, Premī Parsūrāma, *SBG*, (Alam Press), Lahore, n.d.

Note: In this context we should mention *Dakhinī Hindī*, i.e. the Persia-nized, southern form of Hindustani spoken in the Deccan, mainly around Hyderabad. Although old literary forms and a vast literature in *Dakhinī* is available<sup>1</sup>, no trace was found of a *BG*

1. See S. ŚARMĀ, *Dakhinī Hindī kā Sāhitya*, (Hindi), Hyderabad, 1972.



version. The first Biblical text in Dakhinī was published in 1745.

#### 4.5. *Translations into Kashmiri*

Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic group of the Indo-European family, but considering its numerous borrowings from Sanskrit and Prakrit, we classify it here in the Indo-Aryan group. It is a recognized national language of India, spoken by ca. 13 million people in Jammu-Kashmir. Formerly Śāradā characters were used while now the Urdu script is current. A summary of the Mahābhārata, called *Bhārata-manjarī*, was prepared by Kshemendra 'Vyāsadāsa', in the eleventh century. A Kashmiri version of the New Testament appeared in 1821. Several translations of the BG are found:

- JUDHARA, Krishan, *SBG*, n.d.
- 1. KHĀR, Pandit Nārāyana, *BG*, (verse tr.), Matan, n.d.
- 2. PREMĪ, "Kāśmīrī", *SBG*, ca. 1959.
- PUSHPA, *BG*, Kashi, 1959; (tr. of Vinoba Bhavē's *Gītā Pravacana*).

#### 4.6. *Translations into Punjabi*

Punjabi is spoken by ca. 40 million people in India and in Pakistan. The Punjab, 'the land of five rivers', was partitioned in 1947, causing 5 million Hindus and Sikhs to flee eastward and as many Muslims to cross into the opposite direction. West-Punjabi (mainly Pakistan) is written in Persian script. For Eastern Punjabi the Hindus of Haryana use the Nāgarī script; the Sikhs of the Indian Punjab use Gurmukhī characters (lit. 'from the mouth of the guru'), a script devised by Guru Angad in the 16th c., based on the old Śāradā writing. Standard Punjabi is based on the Majhi dialect of Amritsar.

Punjabi literature dates from the 15th c. with the saint-poet Gurū Nānak (1469-1539). His poems are collected in the *Śrī Gurū Granthā Sāhib*, which remained fixed and unchanged as the sacred book of the Sikhs from 1604.

Gītā-translations in Punjabi began in the 18th century, and they were mostly published from Lahore, either in Nāgarī or Gurmukhī characters. One specimen in Roman transcription is quoted:

BG 1.1: Sanjai ! dharam-khet kuru-khetar,  
           mērē tē Pāndū dē puttār,  
           jurē ju juddh karan dē cāi,  
           kī kītā, sō kahō sunāi.

## List of Punjabi translations:

1. an., *BG*, (in Gurmukhī), (publ. by Cirāgadīn Sirājadīn), Lahore, 1902.
2. an., *BG*, (prose tr. of 18th century), (ed. by J. G. Sant Singh), Lahore, 1920.
3. an., *Pothī BG*, (prose tr.), (publ. by Devī Dās, Jānkī Dās), Amritsar, 1918; 1921.
4. an., *BG*, (verse tr. of the 18th c.), published by Uttama Dās, Sukkur, 1923.
- an., *SBG*, (J. K. Singh), Amritsar, n.d.
5. an., *MBh*, ed. by B. & Pratap Singh, Amritsar, 1959.
- an., *MBh*, (Bhāshā Vibhāga), Patiala, 1969.
6. AGRAVĀL, B. R., *Saral Gītā*, (selections in verse; in Nāgarī script), Lahore, 1926.
7. ANAIMĪ, Diāl, *BG-tikā*, (text, followed by versified tr. and Śankara's com.), Ms., compiled in 1721 A.D.
8. "ASHOK", Shamsher Singh, *SBG*, (verse tr.), (Panjabi Sahitya Akademi, 22), Ludhiana, 1958; with com., (Bhai But Singh & Pratap Singh), Amritsar, 1956.
9. BEJĀRA, Chakkardhārī, *BG*, (Bhai B. S. & Pratap Singh), Amritsar, 1956 (407 pp.).
10. BHATDĀ, M. L., *MBh-sāra*, Lahore, 1913.
11. CHĀCHI, Saradāra Harisimha, *BG*, (verse tr., together with *Govinda Gītā*), Lahore, 1896, (in Gurmukhī).
12. CHADEV, A. P., *Gita*, (Ram Lal Suri), Delhi, 1951.
13. DĀSA, Kīśora, *BG*, Ms., (Sikh Hist. Res. Dept., Amritsar), a manuscript transcribed in 1824.
14. DĀSA, Rāma Śarana, *SBG*, (Panjābī Bookshop), Amritsar, 1935.
15. DĀSA, Seva, *BG*, Lahore, n.d.
16. GOPĀLA, Hari, *BG-amrita*, (verse tr., in Persian char.), Gurdaspur, 1922.
- KRIPĀRĀMA, see VAKĪLA, H.
17. LĀLA, Krishna, *MBh*, (versified tr., undertaken at the instance of Guru Gobind Singh; *Gītā*-portion entitled *Rājadharmakathā*), Ms., (Sikh Hist. Res. Dept., Amritsar).
18. MODI, Pratāpaśaya Mohanalāla, *BG*, n.d.
19. RĀMAŚARANA, Pt., *SBG Karmayoga*, (chs. 1-6 in Nāgarī), (Darbar Pr. Pr.), Lahore, 1935.
- SAMSER, see "ASHOK", S. S.
20. ŚARMĀ, Krishna Deva, *BG*, (chs. 1-6; in verse), (Jagan Nāth), Hoshiarpur, 1923.
21. SINGH, Daljīt, Rājā, *SBG*, (Sudarśan Press), Amritsar, n.d.; (Languages Dept.), Patiala, 1971.
22. SINGH, Govind (10th Sikh Guru, 1675-1708), *Govinda gītā*, (in verse), ca. 1700; frequently printed in Lahore; a Ms. is in the British Library, London (Or. 2766); another copy, in Persian script, is dated 1834 A.D. (Or. 2767).
23. SINGH, G., 'Musapher', *Gāndhī-gītā*, (*Anāsaktiyoga* in Gurmukhī), Amritsar, 1954.
- SINGH, S., *Hari Gītā*, (BG ?), Delhi, 1956.
24. VAKĪLA, Haricanda, *SBG, bhāvāśaya aura manoranjanī tikā sahita*, (in Nāgarī and Gurmukhī char.; with the help of Kripārāma), (Anglo-Sanskrit Press), Lahore, 1908.



Note: We should further mention the manuscripts with Gitā versions in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts* of the Sikh History Research Dept., Amritsar.

#### 4.7. Translations into Dogri

Dogri is a dialect related to Punjabi and spoken by ca. 1.5 million inhabitants of Jammu-Kashmir. A Dogri version of the New Testament appeared in 1826. About the first translation of the BG into Dogri (Śankar, 1934), Shivanath remarks:

“The Dogri translation of the *Gita* ... if compared with the Dogri translation of the New Testament, would reveal interesting information. There is a difference of 116 years between these two publications. The earlier book is a book of Christian religion translated by the missionaries and printed in Tākari script, while the latter publication is a book of Hindu religion translated by a Sanskrit scholar and printed in Devanāgarī script.

“The Dogri Gitā by Prof. Gauri Shankar is in the shape of a pocket book and consists of 204 pages, with original Sanskrit ślokas on the top in bold letters and their Dogri prose renderings in small letters below them. At some places each śloka has been translated separately, while at other places, two to three ślokas have been taken together for translation. The translation contains many Sanskrit words, some in the pure Sanskrit form and others in their deformed local forms ... This translation shows that the Dogri language could enrich itself by borrowing words from Sanskrit.”<sup>1</sup>

He further points out the following shortcomings. There is no uniformity in the use of words: several forms of one word have been used (e.g. *yukta* and *jugata*) and Punjabi influence can be noticed. His criticism is summed up as follows: “The translation which is in prose, looks too amateurish to claim any literary merit. It is more like a college student's crude exercise in translation from a language to another than a serious attempt at translation of a classic.”<sup>2</sup>

Shivanath also mentions a translation in Bhadrawahi verse:

“In this decade (of the forties) a second translation of SBG appeared, and it was in Bhadrawahi verse. The translator was one Pandit Gauri Shankar Bhadrawahi. This was the first book published in Bhadrawahi dialect and it offers a good example of written Bhadrawahi in Devanāgarī script. It brought in print for the first time several Vedic expressions and grammatical forms as preserved in the local dialect and many words and sounds of Dogri, some sounds

1. SHIVANATH, *History of Dogri Literature*, (Sahitya Akademi), New Delhi, 1976, p. 68.

2. SHIVANATH, ‘Dogri Topography and Translation’, in *Indian Lit.*, Jan.-Feb. 1976, p. 31.

of Kashmiri and some elements of Pangwali all mixed up ... The translation shows that the translator has derived inspiration for writing this book from the Dogri translation of the Gita by Prof. Gauri Shankar. The book contains Sanskrit ślokas, their Bhadravahi verse renderings and their Hindi prose translation.”<sup>3</sup>

List of Dogri translations:

1. NAGAR, Parsūrāma, *BG*, ca. 1950.
2. SAMYĀLA, Thākura Raghunātha Simha, *Dogri BG*, Jammu, 1954.
3. ŚANKAR, Gauri (senior), *BG*, 1934.
4. ŚANKAR, Gauri (junior), *BG*, ca. 1944.

We quote two verses from Samyal's rendering:

BG 1.1: (धृतराष्ट्र बोले)

धर्म कर्म की धरती ऊपर युद्ध वृत्ति ने घेरे।  
करन लगे केह पुत्तर संजे पान्डू दे ते मेरे॥

and BG 2.47:

कर्म कमाने रीत भली, पर करनी फलै दी प्रीत नैई।  
कर्म फलै दा त्याग खरा, पर कर्म नी करना, ठीक नैई॥

#### 4.8. Translations into Sindhi

Sindhi is the language of a scattered people in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and S.E. Pakistan. It is related to Rajasthani but has preserved archaic features of the Old Indo-Aryan. The Perso-Arabic script is used in Pakistan, the Devanāgarī script is used in India.

Old Sindhi literature started before 1000 A.D. as would appear from the Arabic version of the Mahābhārata made from a Sindhi source-text, by Abu-l-Hassan ‘Ali bin Muhammad al-Hablati, in 1026. The Arabic version was later translated into Persian.

The interaction between Hindus and Muslims and between Hindustani and Persian-Arabic is a specific feature of Sind in ancient times. “According to the accounts of Arab travellers and geographers during the 9th and 10th centuries, Arabic was spoken in Sind side by side with the regional language.”<sup>1</sup> The Ismaeli missionaries (from the 14th century) were mainly responsible for conversions to Islam in Sind and for the production of mystical, poetical literature. “The contents of this litera-

3. SHIVANATH, *History of Dogri Literature*, p. 84.

1. A. SCHIMMEL, *Sindhi Literature*, p. 3, in J. GONDA, *The History of Indian Literature*, VIII, Wiesbaden, 1974.



ture, especially in the genre of the so-called *Dasa Avatāra*, show a most surprising mixture of Islamic and Hindu ideas, to such an extent as to declare 'Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, to be the tenth *avatāra* of Vishnu."<sup>2</sup> Sindhi had its great master in the Sufi poet Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit (1689-1752)<sup>3</sup>. The pioneer of modern literature was Mirzā Qalic Beg (1853-1929)<sup>4</sup>. The first Biblical book in Sindhi appeared in 1825.

Ajwani<sup>5</sup> refers to the translation of some *parvas* of the MBh into Sindhi, "lithographed in the beginning of the 19th cent.", while Ward<sup>6</sup> mentions a translation of the BG (before 1818), by "Bhaguvuthu-Dasu".

In the second half of the 19th century, a prose translation of the BG was made by the poet Dayārām Gidūmal, who called himself 'Nimano', i.e. the humble. Thadani made a masterly verse translation, written on a Persian prosodic model (1923), and a free verse translation was made by Vaswani (1970).

Ajwani remarks: "Vaswani's free verse translation of the BG, however, found a larger audience than Thadani's metrical and learned version, because it was couched in simpler language."<sup>7</sup>

#### List of Sindhi translations:

1. ADVĀNĪ, Cainrāi, Bulchand, *BG*, (tr. and com.), (Standard Pr. Pr.), Hyderabad of Sindh, 1922 (3rd ed.).
2. 'AZIZ', Lekhrāj Kishincand and 'ZĪYĀ', Parasrām, *SBG*, (in verse), (Lehhrāj K. Aziz), Bombay, 1958.
3. 'BHAGUVUTU-DASU', *BG* tr. into 'Sindhoo'; (ref. in M. Ward, 1818).
4. BOOLCHAND, Bhāgchand, *SBG*, (Tikamdas Fatehchand), Bombay, n.d.
5. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Prabhudāsa, *BG*, 1968.
- BULCHAND, Chainrāi, *BG* (in verse), n.d. See No. 1 ?
6. CETĀNANDA, Dodānī C., *Śrī Gītājnāna prakāśa*, Ajmer, 1966.
7. CHĀBIRIYO, Jayarāmidāsu Pūju Hoticamdānī, *SBG*, (Bijuti Press), Shikarpur, 1928.
8. CHETARĀMA, Hasānanda, *BG*, Karachi, 1921.
9. GIDŪMALA, Dayārāma, 'Nimano', *BG*, (in prose), ca. 1870. Also *SBG*, (with com.), (Quasariya Press), Hyderabad of Sindh, 1893; also *Gītā-jo-sār*, (abridged), 1910.

2. *Ibidem*, p. 5.

3. *Ibidem*, p. 14.

4. *Ibidem*, pp. 29ff. See also L. H. AJWANI, *History of Sindhi Literature*, New Delhi, 1970.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

6. W. WARD, *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, (with list of Translations from the "Sungskritu", pp. 578-82), Serampore, 1818.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

10. GUBRĀJĀNĪ, Jethmal Parsarām, *BG ain rāj gyān*, (com.), (Blavatsky Press), Hyderabad of Sindh, n.d., (also a tr. of Besant's *Hints on the Study of BG: BG samjhan lāi ishārā*, (Bhurgri Nat. Pr. Pr.), Hyderabad of Sindh, 1925.
11. GURBHAKH SHĀNĪ, Tahilrām Asudomal, *BG*, (tr. and com.), (Candan Pr. Pr.), Hyderabad of Sindh, 1947.
12. JAIKISHEN, Misir, *MBh*, (portions), Rājasthān, lithographed, ca. 1905.
- JAYARĀMADĀS, Hoticandra Chabiriyo Shikārpuri, *BG*, (com. and tr.), Shikarpur, 2nd ed., 1929. See No. 7.
13. KAUL, Bāghicanda Phūlacanda, *BG*, (com.), Shikārpur, n.d.
14. KRIPALĀNĪ, Ghanshāmdās Khatanmal, *SBG*, (Bāpa Pr. Wks.), Hyderabad of Sindh, 1940.
15. LĀLA, Mūlchand, *BG*, (in verse), n.d.
16. 'MOTĪ', Dalipsingh C. Mānhānī, *SBG*, Bombay, 1960.
17. MOTVĀNĪ, Raghūmal Chatārām, *Gītā gulzār*, (tr. and com.), (Shri Mohan Jotsing Shahani), Poona, n.d.
18. NATHĀNĪ, R. N., *BG*, 1977.
19. ŚARMĀ, Dvārakāprasāda, *BG*, (with L. Tilak's *Gītārahasya* com.), (Bhārat Mitra Pr. Pr.), Jaipur, 1952.
20. ŚARMĀ, Tejūrām Rocirām, *BG*, Karachi, 1924; 5th ed., 1928.
21. ŚARMAN, Mahārāja Tejorāma Rūcirāma, *BG*, (text and simple tr.), (Hārūn Press), Karachi, 1916-17.
22. SATYĀNANDA PRAKĀŚA, Pt., *SBG Sindhī bolī mē tīkā kayal*, Moradabad, 1916.
- 22a. SODĀNĪ, R. Gangarām, *MBh*, 1961.
23. TEKAVĀNĪ, Māstara Hoticanda Samgūmala, *SBG, mūlu ē Simdhī artha sām dohani mē ē sāra sāhata kavītāuni mamjhi*, (Amara Pr. Pr.), Sukkur, 1923; with transliteration into Sindhī, 1925.
24. THĀDANĪ, N. V., *BG*, (verse tr.), 1923.
- 24a. THADĀNĪ, Nānak Rām, *BG*, 1976.
25. UDĀSĪN, Svāmī Rāmdās, *BG*, (verse tr.), (Satnam Press), Shikārpur, 1922.
26. VĀSVĀNĪ, Tilādās Līlārām, (Rev. Sadhu), *The BG. The Song of Life*, (free verse tr. in English and Sindhī), (Gita Publ. H.), Poona, 1970; also in DĀDĀSHYĀM Cassette Series, No. 201.
- 'ZĪYĀ', Parasrām, see 'AZĪZ', L. K.

#### 4.9. Translations into Marvari (Rajasthani)

A "dialect" in Rajasthan, Marvari is spoken by ca. 5 million people, mainly around Jodhpur. Māheśvarī refers to a *Viveka-gītā* (a summary of 515 verses) by Haridāsa of the *Laladāsī sampradāya*, ca. 1640<sup>1</sup>.

In the *Rājasthāna Purātana Granthamālā*, No. 58, Jodhpur, 1961, of the Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, we find an entry . . . "in Rājasthānī

1. H. MĀHEŚVARĪ, *History of Rajasthani Literature*, (Sahitya Akademi), New Delhi, 1980, p. 129. He further mentions Śalibhadra Sūri, who in 1353 A.D. composed a *Pānca Pāndava carita rāsu* (MBh story in 795 lines) under Jain influence.



language”: *Gītāmahātmyabhāṣhā*, dated 1697. Another list (No. 44, 1960) refers to a *Mahābhārata-kathā* of 1808 and a *Gītāsāra* of the 19th century, all in manuscript. Ward (1818) refers to two translations “in the dialect of Joypore”, by “Ajomayuru” and by “Phutyolu-velo”. A complete “Marvari-Bikaneri” New Testament was published by the Serampore Mission, in 1820.

A recent verse-translation of the BG was produced by the well-known poet VIMALEŚA. The list of Marvari translations includes at least ten items:

1. an., Ms., see above.
2. “AJOMAYURU”, ref. by Ward (1818).
3. ĀSOPĀ, Rāma Karana (1857-1943), *BG*.
4. BHAGAVĀNADĀSA, Niranjanī, *Gītā-māhātmya*, ca. 1680.
- CATURA SIMHA, Mahārāja. See Mevari.
5. DĀSA, Svarūpa (1801-63, of Dādū *sampradāya*), *Ukti candrikā* (MBh summary).
6. GUMĀNA SIMHA (1840-1914), *Gītāsāra*.
7. HARIDĀSA, *Viveka gītā*, ca. 1640 (see above).
8. “PHUTYOLU-VELO”, ref. by Ward (1818).
9. RĀMA, Navala, (mantri of Bhīlwāra), (BG quotations in his *Navala Sāgara*), ca. 1775.
10. “VIMALEŚA”, Viśvanātha Śarmā, *BG*, (verse tr., with glossary and foreword by Haribhau Upādhyāyā), Bombay, (1960), 1961.

#### 4.10. Translations into Mevari

Mevari, another ‘dialect’ of Rajasthan, is spoken by ca. one million people, mainly around Udaipur. SANTA CATURA SIMHA ‘Mahārāja’ (1876-1929) has been called the first poet of Mevari<sup>1</sup>. He produced a Mevari version of the Gītā (with *samaśloki sāra darśavānī aura gangājālī tīkā*), of which a quotation is given, dated ca. 1900:

BG 11.44<sup>2</sup>:

ईसूं अबे मूं भूकने मानावूं ।  
क्षमा सभी ई अपराध पाऊं ॥  
क्यों पुत्ररा बाप सखा सखा रा ।  
मारा खमोज्यो नर नारियाँ रा ॥

Two other versions are by GULĀBACANDRA NĀGORĪ, *BG*, Ānand-āshram, Paithan, (Aurangabad), 1919 and by KUNVAR CATUR SIMHA, *BG*, Udaipur, 1920.

1. See M. AGRAVĀLA, ‘Mevāri Boli kā pahalā kavi : Santa Catura’ (Hindi) in *Sāhitya Sandeśa*, Feb. 1956, pp. 332-35.
2. In J. Mascaro’s translation (1971): “I bow before thee, I prostrate in adoration; and I beg thy grace, O glorious Lord. As a father to his son, as a friend to his friend, as a lover to his beloved, be gracious unto me, O God,”

#### 4.11. Translations into Malvi

Mal(a)vi is spoken in the southern part of Rajasthan and in the bordering area of Madhya Pradesh, roughly from Chittorgarh to Bhopal. The first annotated translation of the BG appeared recently: N. ZAMIDĀRA, *SBG Mālavi Anuvāda*, (Gītāsmṛiti Prakāśana), Indore, 1978.

#### 4.12. Translations into Braj

Braj was the medium *par excellence* for the devotional literature in North India, from the 15th century onwards, especially around Mathura, south of Delhi. Referring to a survey of about 20 early translations of a Sanskrit drama, Agravāla<sup>1</sup> shows that *Vrajabhāshā* prevailed in North India as receptive language in the 16-18th centuries.

The present survey of translations and paraphrases of the BG in Braj cannot be complete because much manuscript material is still left uncatalogued. But even from this provisional list it appears that in Braj literature, the BG has had an important place.

The BG became the most important scripture of the Dattatreya *sampradāya* of Krishna *bhakti*, flourishing first in Maharashtra. It inspired Vishnusvāmī to write a commentary, ca. 1320, under the influence of the Jñāneśvarī (see below, p. 199f.). The language used is a poetical Braj as it developed around Mathura. At the end of the 16th century, Jayatārāma, a court-poet of Akbar, wrote a versified commentary on the Gītā, in imitation of Śrīdhara.

References do not always distinguish early Braj and Avadhi. For example, Tulasīdāsa, the saintly author of the Avadhi *Rāmacaritamānasa* (ca. 1575), is sometimes quoted as an early translator of the BG into "Hindi". Yet, although the Nāgarī Pracārīnī Sabhā Collection has a *Gītā Bhāshya* and a *Gītā Bhāshā* (of 610 verses) attributed to Tulasīdāsa, it denies its authenticity<sup>2</sup>. A very early but incomplete Braj version of the BG (11th chapter) was prepared by Caturadāsa, ca. 1635.

1. S. AGRAVĀLA, 'Prabodhacandrodaya ke Hindī anuvāda', in *Anuvāda*, May 1965, pp. 73-90.

2. A. HOLTZMANN, *op. cit.*, refers to a paraphrase of the BG attributed to Tulasīdāsa, published with Vāmana and Mukteśvara's Marāṭhī 'Commentaries', Bombay, 1861.

A *SBG Śrī Tulasīdāsena dohābaddha Hindī bhāshāya nirmita* appeared in Bombay, in 1919.



Bhūvāla should probably be given the honour of having produced the first complete version of the BG in 'Braj', ca. 1643 (V.S. 1700)<sup>3</sup>. Not long afterwards, Harivallabha wrote a verse commentary on the Gitā (ca. 1714). Śrī Lālaṇī (Vallabha *sampradāya*, ca. 1700) is also said to have produced a *BG-māhātmya*<sup>4</sup>.

It could be argued that Braj versions of the Mahābhārata containing parts of the BG should be earlier; yet most ancient poetic summaries or paraphrases of the MBh touch only the fringes of the BG. Lakhana Sena (ca. 1424) and Vishnudāsa (ca. 1435) in no way follow the original sequence of the epic. Only the poet Dharmadāsa follows the original verse-order closely, when composing his Mahābhārata story. We should further also mention Sabala Simha Cauhāna (ca. 1693), who is compared with Tulasidāsa for his contribution in popularizing the devotion to Krishna<sup>5</sup>. To Gokulanātha, son of Raghunātha of Benares (end of the 18th c.), is attributed a complete Braj translation of the Mahābhārata.

The Caranadāsīs have a tradition that their guru Carana Dāsa (1703-82) made an original translation of at least the greater part of the BG<sup>6</sup>. A reference to the first complete and scholarly Braj translation of the BG is found in the Manuscript Collection of the City Palace, Jaipur<sup>7</sup>, produced (or copied ?) by Ganapati Bhārati (end 18th century). After an introduction (तहाँ पांडव कौरव जुद्ध करिबे को तयार भये, तब धृतराष्ट्रक संजय

3. The poet claims to have finished the work ca. 943 A.D. (V.S. *sahasra so*); the date is corrected to *sahasra sata so* by R. K. VARMA, *Hindī Sāhitya kā ālocanātmaka Itihāsa*, V.S. 750-1750, Allahabad, (1938), 1964, p. 145; we quote the first verse :

आरजुन सो प्रभु भाखा गीता म्यान अपार ।  
जन भुआल के स्वामी करहु मोर उवार ॥

4. See A. ENTWISTLE, 'Manuscripts of the Eighth Gaddi of the Vallabha Sampradāy', p. 60, in W. M. CALLEWAERT, ed., *Early Hindi Religious Literature in Current Research*, Leuven, 1980.

In R. S. MCGREGOR, 'Some Materials from the Surasagar', in *Ibidem*, pp. 109 and 111 reference is made to the BG in the *Surasāgara*.

5. See Gauri ŚANKAR, 'The MBh in Hindi translations' in *All India Oriental Conference Papers*, VI, p. 409. Also R. P. PANDEY, *MBh kī kathāom para ādhārīta Hindī kāvya*, Ranchi, 1971. In Cauhāna's MBh, there are 58 lines of the BG, ending with Arjuna's readiness to fight :

अब संशय प्रभु मिटी हमारी ।  
करिहौ युद्ध सुनहु गिरिधारी ॥

6. F. KEAY, *A History of Hindi Literature*, Oxford, 1920, p. 67.

7. G. N. BAHURA, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Maharaja of Jaipur Museum*, Jaipur, 1971, p. 110; one may compare this with the 1975 edition of *BG*, *Dohā-bhāshātkāśahita*, Bhārgava Book Depot, Benares, which could possibly be based on it.

सों पूछते हैं) follows the first verse in Sanskrit, in prose translation and in verse translation (*dohā*):

हे संजय ! धर्म को षेत जो कुरुषेत ताके विसैं जुद्ध करिबे कों भेले भये ऐसे मेरे पुत्र अरु पांडु के पुत्र, ते कहा करतु हैं, सो कहो ।

धरमषेत कुरुषेत में, मिले जुद्ध कें काज ।

संजय मो सुत पंडुसुत, तिन कहा कियो इलाज ॥

Although only a few random consultations were made<sup>8</sup> in catalogues of manuscripts, we found references to verse translations in Braj, paraphrases and commentaries in the Collection of the N.P.S., Benares (Catalogue, 1964), dated 1669, 1732, 1734, 1741, 1750, etc., A.D. Anonymous prose-translations, paraphrases and commentaries were further found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Acc. No. 703) and in the Catalogue of Mss. in Germany (*Verzeichnis...*, 'Indische Handschriften', No. 586). Of the latter manuscript we quote two verses:

BG 1.1: राजा धृतराष्ट्र संजय प्रति पृच्छा करति, "भो संजय, धर्म का क्षेत्र जु है कुरुक्षेत्र, तीस कै विखैं संग्राम करणे के ताई मिले है, मेरे पुत्र दुर्योधनादि का अरु पांडव युधिष्ठिरादि का, तिन्हु दुइ क्या कीया सो मुझसै ती कृपा करि कहु ।"

BG 18.56: हे अर्जुन, सर्व धर्मकर्म अरु अकर्म नित्य नैमित्तिक काम्य अरु निसिद्ध है ते सब परित्यज्य करि एक सर्वात्मक मई मुझही को शरण होहि ।...

A Braj version of Jñānadeva's Commentary is kept, in manuscript form, in the Collection at Florence (Italy). The large collection of Catalogues of Manuscripts in the Central Library, K.U., Leuven, Belgium, is kept up with great care, and many references to translations into Braj (and other Indian languages) have been found.

Besides the manuscripts, at least 5 printed editions of Braj renderings have been circulated, as appears from the following list (which includes what some would call "early Hindi" versions).

#### List of Braj translations:

— an., many Mss., see above.

1. ĀNANDA, BG, (verse-tr.), ca. 1782.

2. ĀNANDARĀMA, *Gītāprakāśa* or *Paramānanda prabodha*, a *gadya-padya* paraphrase, ca. 1704; there is also a verse-commentary, based on Harivallabha's commentary.

8. When W. Ward prepared his survey of Indian literature he had to gather information through personal letters, as he notes explicitly for Braj translations, "Respecting this dialect, a gentleman of Lucknow thus wrote to the author on the 13th of August 1817, 'There are in the Bruju-Bhasha two Geetas'" (*op. cit.*, London, 1820, 3rd ed., p. 480).

3. A  
— A  
— A  
4. F  
6. F  
7. F  
8. B  
a  
a  
9. B  
10. C  
11. C  
12. C  
v  
A  
13. D  
— D  
14. D  
P  
15. C  
t  
1  
16. F  
17. F  
18. F  
(  
M  
la  
la  
F  
19. J  
20. J  
21. K  
22. K  
1  
23. L  
24. M  
25. M  
n  
26. R  
(  
li  
27. "  
28. T  
— U  
29. V  
N  
30. V



3. ĀNANDARĀMA (idem ?), (ed. as *SBG, śloka dohā sahita Braja-bhāṣhāntara*), (Jnānasāgara Press), Bombay, 1880.
- . ĀNANDARĀMA (idem ?), (ed. as *SBG, padārtha bodhini nāmaka braja-bhāṣhā vyākhyāna*), (Madan-gopal Press), Vrindāban, (1891), 1912.
- . ANANTARĀMA (idem ?), (ref. in *Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Vrindaban Research Inst.*, No. 526, 532, 547, 550).
4. BĀLAGOVINDA, 'Vaishnava', *BG*, (prose), ca. 1752.
6. BHAGAVADDĀSA, *BG-tikā*, Ms., (Orient. Inst., Baroda).
7. BHAGAVĀNADĀSA, *BG-bhāṣhāmṛita*, (prose-com., based on Rāmānuja's commentary), ca. 1699.
8. BHĀRATĪ, Ganapati (?), *Sāṅkhya-yoga-śākhā*, (*BG* tr. in *vacanikā* and *dohā-caupāi*, ordered by Savāi Pratāpa Simha), ca. 1799. See above, footnote 7.
9. BHŪVĀLA (JANABHŪVĀLA), *BG* (*dohā-caupāi* verse-tr.), ca. 1643.
10. CARANADĀSA, *BG*, ca. 1760; (see above, footnote 6).
11. CATURADĀSA, *BG*, (ch. 11), ca. 1635.
12. CAUHĀNA, Sabala Simha, *MBh*, (in metrical tr. of 24,000 *ślokas*, with *dohās*), born ca. 1670; ed. by Thākura Prasāda, Vārānāsī, n.d. Also Navalakiśora Press, Lucknow, (1893), 1929 (5th), with sub-title "Tulasidāsakṛita Rāmāyana kī rīti para". See above, footnote 5.
13. DĀSA, Udayarāja, *BG-bhāṣhā*, (verse), ca. 1814.
- . DEVĪDĀSA, *MBh*, 1663.
14. DHARMADĀSA, (*MBh*-story, esp. *Bhīṣmaparva*, by order of Rājā Pratāpaśāha), middle 17th cent.
15. GOKULANĀTHA, *MBh*, (end 18th cent.; in fact, GOPĪNĀTHA translated the *Bhīṣmaparva*), ed., (Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1874.
16. HAMSARĀJA, *MBh*, (verse), ca. 1732.
17. HARIDĀSA, *BG*, (verse-tr. and com.), ca. 1754.
18. HARIVALLABHA, *BG-bhāṣhānuvāda*, (verse com.), end 17th cent. (dated ca. 1714 A.D. by the Nāgari Pracārini Sabhā); also *BG-bhāṣhya*, Ms., ca. 1711. B. Tiwārī, *op. cit.*, p. 197, distinguishes a *Gītā*-translation by Harivallabha, 1644 A.D. and a *Bhāṣhā gītā jñāna* by another Harivallabha, 1714 A.D.
19. JAYARĀMA, *BG*, (com. in verse).
20. JAYATARĀMA, *BG*, (com. based on *Śrīdhari*), ca. 1573.
21. KĀŚIGIRI, *BG*, (verse tr.), ca. 1734.
22. KĀYASTHA, Chatra Simha, *Vijaya Muktaṭvali*, (a *MBh-kathā*); ca. 1700.
23. LĀHAURĪ, Malūkadāsa, *BG-bhāṣhā-tikā*, (in verse), ca. 1694 or 1751.
24. MANJŪ, (Miśra), *BG*, (prose com.), ca. 1750 or 1800.
25. MIŚRA, Tulasirāma, *BG*, (verse tr.), (ed. Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1925.
26. RĀJENDRAMUNI, Pandita, 'Rājavallabhī' *gītā-tikā*, 17th cent. (ref. by Y. M. Pathan, in W. M. CALLEWAERT, *Early Hindī religious literature in current research*, 1980, p. 214).
27. "ŚRĪ LĀLAJĪ", *BG-Māhātmya*, Ms., ca. 1700 (see above, fn. 4).
28. THEGHANĀTHA, *Gītābhāṣhya*, (in verse), ca. 1550.
- . UMĀDĀSA, see Hin. 262.
29. VIDYĀNIDHI, Svāmī Tulasirāma Miśra, *SBG*, (verse tr.), (ed., Navalakiśora Press), Lucknow, 1924.
30. VISHNUSVĀMĪ, *BG*, (com., based on *Jñāneśvari*), ca. 1320,

4.13. *Translations into Kanauji*

Ward (*op. cit.*, 1818, pp. 578-82) refers to a translation of the BG in the dialect of "Kunoju", which unfortunately could not be traced, unless it has been classified as a "Hindi" manuscript or publication. The Serampore Mission produced a Bible portion in Kanauji in 1821.

4.14. *Translations into Kumaoni*

We find a reference to an early translation into this *pahādī* (hill) language, in the *Gītā Sūcī* of Poddar (1930, p. 46): ŚRILADHAR JOSHI, *BG*, (verse translation), Lucknow, 1908. There is a verse translation by B. S. MEHATĀ, *Kumāūnī Bhāshā mem Bacīgītā jnāna-sāgara*, (Associated Press), Haldvānī-Nainītāla, 1966.

4.15. *Translations into Nepali*

In the main language of Nepal, native land of Lord Buddha, a large number of translations of the BG has been produced. We find also a reference to a *BG bhāshā* in Holtzmann and a *BG* in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. (Acc. No. 17304) of the Sanskrit College, Benares.

As Nāgarī script is used, we can easily quote BG 1.1 (according to the MBh-version ed. by K. Devi, 1957):

त्यो धर्म-भूमि कुरुक्षेत्र विषे गएर  
गछौ लड़ाइ भनि चित्त विषे लिएर।  
हाम्रा कुमार अनि पाण्डवले अहीले  
कुन् कार्य पो गरि लिए कहु संजयैले ॥

## List of Nepali translations:

1. an., BG, *gītā-māhātmya bhāshānuvāda-sahita, jagannāthāshtaka-sameta*, (Jnānasāgara Press), Bombay, 1878.
2. an., BG, (tr. and notes), 3 parts, Kalimpong, 1935.
3. ADHIKĀRĪ, Komala Nātha, *SBG, Komalagītānuvāda*, (Nepālī Bhāshā Prakāśinī), Kathmandu, (1941), 1942.
4. ADHIKĀRĪ, Suvva Nārāyanadatta, *SBG*, (with *gītāmāhātmya* and *bhāshā-tikā*), (Jagannāth Print. Wks.), Benares, 1923.
5. DEVI, Krishnakumārī, ed., *MBh sacitra*, (Bābū Mādhava Prasāda Śarmā), Benares, 1957.
- 5a. KOIRĀLĀ, D. U., *SBG*, (Nepali Sahitya Sammelan), Darjeeling, 1934.
6. PUSPARĀJA, Kāji, *Śrī bhagavac-candrikā*, (com.), Kathmandu, 1959.
7. ŚIVAPĀNĪ, Agnihotra, *SBG bhāshā-tikā*, Benares, (1919), 1927, (4th).
8. UPĀDHYĀYA, Pt. Kedāranātha, *SBG*, (in Nepali verses, and Nepali verses tr. into English by Bābū Lalita Prasāda Vermā), (Hitaishi Co.), Benares-Calcutta, n.d. See Eng. 259.
9. UPĀDHYĀYA, Pt. Narendranātha, *SBG*, (verse tr., with *māhātmya, nyāsa, dhyāna, pradhāna-śabda*), (Himalaya Press), Benares, 1920.



#### 4.16. Translations into Avadhi

Avadhi is the language spoken in the historical area of Oudh (North-East Uttar Pradesh). Literary texts are available from the 12th century, although the greatest poets lived in the 16th century, with Jāyasī and Tulasidāsa. An early versified rendering of the BG has been attributed to Tulasidāsa but its authenticity is doubtful (see above, p. 166).

Though some earlier BG-translations into Avadhi may have entered the lists of its sister-language Braj or general Hindi, we can at least refer to three recent publications:

1. 'BACCANA', Harivamśa Rāya, *Jana-gītā*, Delhi, (1958), 1966 (rev.).
2. MĪŚRA, Dvārakā Prasāda, 'Gītākānda' in *Krishnāyana*, (dohas 107ff.), 1943.
3. PRAKĀŚA, Vishnu, *Gītābodha* (BG chs. 1-3, in verse), (Cikitraka Press), Kanpur, 1958.

From the latter we quote BG 1.1:

किमि कुरुखेत मांभ मम पूता । लरे पांडवन सन कहु सूता ॥  
पुन्य देस किमि भई लराई । कवन बीर केहि विधि गति पाई ॥

This can be compared with the popular *Jana-gītā* of Baccana, BG 1.1:

धर्मखेत, कुरुखेत कहावा,  
जहँ कौरव-पांडव-दल आवा;  
काह करेन्हि तहँ दोउ समुदाई?  
संजय, मोहि कहहु, समुभाई ।

The philosophical verse BG 2.27 ("For all things born in truth must die, and out of death in truth comes life. Face to face with what must be, cease thou from sorrow", in J. Mascaro, 1962) runs:

अवस मरइ जो जनमई ताता,  
मरइ सो जनमई जानहि ग्याता ।  
अटल मरन-जीवन कर साथी,  
कस तब सोचु करसि धुन माथा ॥

#### 4.17. A translation into Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri is a widely spoken language, found in the Gorakhpur and Vārānasī districts of Uttar Pradesh and in several districts of Western and Central Bihar. Formerly, it was written in Kaithī character (see also below, Maithili), a script in which Sanskrit manuscripts of the BG have also been copied. At least one recent rendering of the BG into Bhojpuri can be acknowledged, viz. SIMHA RĀJADEVA 'Kauśal', *Bhojpuri-padyānuvāda SBG*, Calcutta, 1977.

4.18. *Translations into Maithili*

Maithili is the language spoken in the region north of the Ganges and east of the Bhojpuri region in the State of Bihar. The Himalayas are the northernmost boundary of Mithila, and in medieval times Nepal and Mithila were under one ruler. As a result, Maithili acted as a kind of 'church language' in Nepal, and numerous manuscripts with literature in Maithili may still be found in collections in Nepal<sup>1</sup>.

The name of the language is referred to in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and was called Mithilee or Mythili by the Serampore Missionaries (1816 A.D.)<sup>2</sup>. The earliest work in which traces of Maithili are found is of the 9th c. A.D., and the oldest works written in this language are the songs of the Buddhist saints (see below, p. 187, Caryā-padas). According to Jhā, the language of the songs cannot be defined with certainty as either Bengali or Maithili, both on the basis of stress and of morphology<sup>3</sup>. Vidyapati (1360-1448) is the greatest poet of Maithili.

A poem entitled *Mahābhārata* is ascribed to Krishna-deva, in 1615 A.D.<sup>4</sup>. It should be noted that in the Maithili-speaking area, four scripts are (were) used for writing Maithili, viz. the Tiruhata script (close to Bengali), Kaithi (which resembles Gujarati), Devanāgarī and Bengali.

The following references to translations were found:

1. DATTA, Acyutānanda, *MBh*, (adapt.), 1931.
  2. KRISHNA-DEVA, *Mahābhārata*, 1615.
  3. JHĀ, Mukunda and JHA, Trilocana, *BG*, (prose tr.), n.d.
  4. JHĀ, Upendranātha, 'Vyāsa', *SBG*, (verse tr.), 1965.
  5. MĪŚRA, Jyotishī Baladeva, *MBh-śikshā*, ca. 1940.
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1. "Attention should be drawn to the work of the Nepal-German Preservation Project, run in Nepal by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Marburg/Berlin), in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology of His Majesty's Government of Nepal (especially the National Archives of Nepal). Among the ca. 24,000 Government Sanskrit Mss. copied on film (since 1970) there are a number of Old and Middle Hindi texts (especially Maithili). Information may be obtained from Mr G. Meier, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Postfach, 1407, 1000 Berlin 30, W. Germany)". W. M. CALLEWAERT, 'Microfilms of Hindi Literature in private possession', in *South Asia Library Notes and Queries*, June 1980, p. 7.
  2. S. JHĀ, *The Formation of the Maithili Language*, London, 1958, pp. 3, 2. See also J. MĪŚRA, *History of Maithili Literature*, (Sahitya Ak.), New Delhi, 1976, and Hīrānanda JHĀ, 'Gītā Paricaya', in *All India Oriental Conference Papers*, 14, vol. 1, pp. 245ff.
  3. S. JHĀ, *op. cit.*, pp. 33ff.
  4. *Ibidem*, p. 38. J. MĪŚRA, *op. cit.*, prefers a later date, viz. 1702 A.D. He refers, however, to earlier MBh-dramas, e.g. by Narendra Malla of Kathmandu, ca. 1551, and Jagajyotir Malla.



#### 4.19. *Translations into Bengali*

With ca. 45 million speakers in India and another 50 million in Bangla Desh, Bengali ranks, numerically, a little behind Japanese and German. It is classified in the Eastern group of modern Indo-Aryan languages and “with its sisterspeech Assamese, Bengali forms the easternmost language in the Indo-European linguistic area, just as the Celtic Irish and the Germanic Icelandic are the westernmost”<sup>1</sup>. Early Bengali developed from ca. 1000 A.D. in the *Caryā-padas* (see below, p. 187). In modern Bengali the classical form is called *sādhū bhāṣhā* or chaste language, and colloquial Bengali is known as *calita bhāṣhā* or current language. ‘Banglā Musulmānī’, like the Urdu form of Hindustani, borrows many words from Persian and Arabic.

The Bengali script developed from the northern Gupta-branch of the ancient Brāhmī script, along the line of the eastern *kutīla* or crooked style, and via the proto-Bengali *gaudīya* form. Sanskrit texts in this area have usually been transcribed into this character. For Belvalkar’s critical edition of the BG 5 authoritative manuscripts written in Bengali character were used, the earliest dated manuscript being only of 1749 A.D.

It should be noted that the *bhakti*-song *Gītagovinda*, originally composed in 24 padas in Apabhramśa Bengali by Jayadeva (12th c. A.D.), should not be confused with the *Gītā* !

Scholars generally agree that Krittivāsā Ojhā was probably the first translator of the Rāmāyana into Bengali, around the beginning of the 15th century<sup>2</sup>. Due to the identification of Rāma with the god Vishnu, this book gained great popularity in Bengal, putting the Mahābhārata in the shade. The *Śrīkrishnabijaya* (ca. 1473-80) by Mālādhara Basu — a free rendering of chapters 10, 11 and 12 of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* — is the first literary work in Bengali of the Krishnaite movement. It is highly surpassed in literary quality by the original composition *Śrī Krishna Kīrtana* by Baru Candidāsa, of the same period<sup>3</sup>. The Krishnaite *bhakti* movement found its most enthusiastic expression in Caitanya Prabhu, born as Biśvambhar at Nabadīpa in 1486. He spent many years at Vrindāvan and died in Puri (Orissa) in 1535. Due mainly to his influence, it is not surprising that the most popular translation of any Sanskrit religious work into Bengali is probably the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, of which

1. S. K. CHATTERJEE, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, 2 vols., London, 1970, p. 1.

2. D. ZBAVITEL, *Bengali Literature*, p. 141, in J. GONDA, ed., *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. IX, 3, Wiesbaden, 1976.

3. *Ibidem*, p. 148.

more than 50 translations have been made. Its popularity is still reflected, now on a world-wide scale, in its publication by the Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, in 30 volumes.

"The origin of the first Bengali versions of the Mahābhārata is probably due to the endeavours of some Muslim rulers who wished to continue the tradition of the Pāla and Sena kings to have the epic recited at their court."<sup>4</sup> "The Bengali translation of the MBh was undertaken under the order of Nasir Shah of Gaur who ruled from 1285 to 1325, and to whom Vidyāpati dedicated one of his poems. Similarly, Hussain Shah commanded Maladhar Vasu to render the BG into Bengali."<sup>5</sup> Rāmacandra Khān, an administrative officer of Hussain Shah, seems also to have written a complete MBh poem in 1532.

Other MBh renderings in Bengali were produced under lavish court patronage<sup>6</sup>. In the 17th century, the poets Kāśīrāma Dāsa, Nandarāma and Nityānanda Ghosha also produced their versions of the MBh. In this way the Bengali classic *Pāndavijaya* was compiled: "The whole poem goes by the authorship of Kāśīrāma but is in fact a compilation. Kāśīrāma wrote only the first four sections. The next two or three sections were written by Nandarāma, a nephew of Kāśīrāma. The remaining sections are taken from the works of Nityānanda Ghosha and others."<sup>7</sup>

The Christian Mission Press at Serampore made this oft-recited version of the MBh one of its first ambitious publications (1801-2).

4. *Ibidem*, p. 146. D. CHANDRA (*History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1954, p. 193) mentions 31 early writers working on the MBh.
5. D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 172. See also Sukumar SEN, *History of Bengali Literature*, New Delhi, 1971, p. 75.
6. Aniruddha tells how he received an order from Śukladhvaja, the younger brother of the king: "He commanded me with great pleasure—'Do you render the Bhārata into Payāra verse. In my home there are complete codices of the Bhārata; you can take them to your home. I give them all to you.' After saying this he ordered pack bullocks and sent the book loads over to me. Articles of food he supplied in plenty: he appointed men and maids to serve me. And I took this his command on my head, and holding the two feet of Krishna close to my heart I now write the lines of verse." Quoted in S. SEN, *ibidem*, p. 109.
7. *Ibidem*, p. 122. In the *Introduction to the Catalogue of Bengali and Assamese Mss. in the India Office Library*, London, 1924, the remarks of D. C. Sen (*Bengali Language and Literature*) are quoted: "The Bengali recensions as compared with the original... appear to be, in many respects, quite different poems. One would hardly find in many of these works a score of lines together which would conform to the Sanskrit text. The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata were, so to speak, reborn in these Bengali recensions, which resembled the Sanskrit epic only as the child does its father."



The first printed book in Bengali (in Roman characters) seems to have been a Catechism on the Christian doctrine, written in Dacca in 1734 and printed in Lisbon (Portugal) in 1743. The first book printed in Bengali characters is N. B. Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengali Language* (Hooghly, 1778). The types were designed by Wilkins. Incidentally, the first Sanskrit work ever printed was *Ritusamhāra* (*The Seasons*) of Kālidāsa, edited by W. Jones and printed in Bengali characters in 1792.

We find already in Ward (1818) a reference to "The Muhabharutu by Kashee-Dasu"; another edition was published by the Serampore Mission, in 2 vols., in 1836<sup>8</sup>. Another famous Bengali rendering of the MBh, in running prose, was prepared by Kālīprasanna Simha (1845-70). The text of the Gītā in this rendering appeared also separately and is still being reprinted. An earlier reference to a BG rendering "ready for the press" is found in *Primitiae Orientales*, College Fort William, Calcutta, vol. 3 (1804), p. xxiv: "Translation of the Bhagwut Geeta from the Shanscrit into Bengalee, by Chunder Churun Moonshee". In 1914 Vasantaranjana Rāya edited a manuscript of 1719-20, having the text of a metrical *Gītānuvāda* by Ānandīrāma Vidyāvāgīśa.

In the beginning of the twentieth century a maximum number of BG translations were published. Although the poems of R. Tagore (Nobel Prize, 1913) "are soaked with the spirituality of the Gita"<sup>9</sup>, we do not have a rendering of the BG by him. Several translations have been produced by monks of the Rāmākṛishna Mission, founded by Vivekānanda, disciple of Rāmākṛishna. Calcutta-born Aurobindo published his translation and notes in English (see above, p. 95). The Bengali rendering by Svāmī Bhaktivedānta Prabhupāda has become a very popular version and is translated in several languages (see above, p. 95). We quote from it the first verse:

Dhormo-kshetre, Kuru-kshetre hoiyā ekotro |  
Juddho-kāmī mamo putrā Pāndabo sarbotro ||  
Ki korilo, tārpora kahō tō, Senjoyo |  
Dhritōrāshthro jigyāse sandigdho hridayo ||

#### List of Bengali translations:

In the impressive list of 284 (of which 53 "metrical"! ) translations of the BG — or in a few exceptional cases of portions of the MBh — 30 are anonymous, mainly dating from the 19th century. For some

8. 'The Muhabharut, translated into Bengalee verse by Kasee Dass, and revised and collated with various manuscripts by Joy Gopal Turkulunkar of the Government Sungskrit College, Calcutta.'

9. A. M. ESNOUL, *La BG*, p. 12.

translations no date of publication was given nor could it be ascertained in what year the first edition appeared. Further, 44 translations were printed during the 19th century, of which 30 were later than 1880. During the 20th century, about 179 translations of the BG into Bengali have been printed, the numbers printed each decade being as follows:

1900-1909: 19	1940-1949: 4
1910-1919: 37	1950-1959: 12
1920-1929: 51	1960-1969: 17
1930-1939: 29	1970-1979: 10

It is noteworthy that 195 (or 80%) had been printed before 1940.

1. an., *Mahābhārata*, ordered by Nasir Shah, early 14th century; see above, f.n. 5.
2. an., *BG*, ordered by Hussain Shah; see above, fn. 5.
3. an., *BG*, manuscript No. 3271 in the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 5.
4. an., *BG*, (text in Bengali script, with rhyme paraphrase), Calcutta, 1841; 1849.
5. an., *BG*, (metrical tr.), Calcutta, 1852.
6. an., *Gītākalpataru*; manuscript, 1776.
7. an., *BG*, Calcutta, 1855.
8. an., *BG*, with notes, Calcutta, 1885.
9. an., *BG*, (Bhudhar Chatterji), Calcutta, 1887.
10. an., *BG*, (Gopālacandra Devaśarmā), Hugli, 1887.
11. an., *BG*, (with com. of Rāmānuja, Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana), Calcutta, 1889.
- 11a. an., *MBh*, (1-7 parvas), 2 vols., (Vangabasi Press), Calcutta, 1890.
12. an., *BG*, (with Sanskrit paraphrase, Bengali tr. and notes), Calcutta, 1891.
13. an., *Gaudīya gītā*, (in prose and verse), Calcutta, 1891.
14. an., *SBG*, Calcutta, 1893.
15. an., *SBG*, *mūla evam vangānuvāda*, (Vangabāsi Steam Machine Press), Calcutta, 1895.
16. an., *BG*, Calcutta, 1898.
17. an., *SBG*, (with *Samanvaya bhāṣya*), (Vidyāratna Press), Calcutta, 1899.
18. an., *BG*, Calcutta, 1901.
- 18a. an., *MBh*, (under auspices of Mahātābcand, Mahārājā of Burdwan), (Vangabasi Press), Calcutta, 1902; 1907.
19. an., *Gītā-rasāmrita*, (verse tr.), Boalia, 1913.
20. an., *BG*, (with Sanskrit paraphrase and Bengali tr.), (Arya Mission Institute), Calcutta, 1921 (25th).
21. an., *SBG vangānuvāda sameta*, (Indian Press), Calcutta, 1923 (25th).
22. an., *Śrī SBG*, (*sarala o prānjala vangānuvāda sameta mūla o gītā mātmya sampūrṇa*), (N.M. Press), Dacca, 1923.
23. an., *BG*, (with Sanskrit paraphrase, Bengali tr. and notes), (Adhara-candra Cakravartti), Calcutta, 1923.
24. an., *BG*, (with Sanskrit paraphrase and Bengali tr.), Calcutta, 1928.



25. an., *SBG bangānuvāda*, (with text, *padaccheda*, *anvaya*, simple tr. and notes according to the Hindi edition), (Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, 1930's, 538 pp.
26. an., *BG*, (with com.), 2 vols., (Gītā-pracāra-sampradāya), Calcutta, 1947-49.
27. an., *BG*, (with com. "based on psychology and reason"), Calcutta, 1948.
28. an., *BG*, (with *Śaktivāda-bhāṣya*), (Gaudīya Śaktivāda Matha), Calcutta, 1959.
29. an., *Gītā sacitra*. See Hin. 19.
30. ADHIKĀRĪ, Pancānana, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Benares, 1910.
31. ANIRUDDHA, *MBh*, (story, sponsored by Śukladhvaja), 17th cent.
32. APŪRVĀNANDA, Svāmī, *BG*, (Ramakrishna Mission), Barasat, 1973.
- BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, see VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA.
34. BANERJĪ, Probodhkumar, *Japaśa-gītāmṛita*, (Japaśa), Calcutta, 1961.
35. BASĀKA, Vaishnavācarana, *BG*, (with Sanskrit paraphrase and Bengali tr. and *Tattva-jñānopadeśa* com.), (M. Vedāntavāgīśa), Calcutta, 1911 (5th).
36. BASU, Bani and GUPTA, Kajal Sen, *BG*, (with Yatindra Rāmānuja's com.). See present list No. 179.
37. BASU, Dvijendranātha, *SBG*, (*amitrākshara chande padyānuvāda*), Ranchi, 1965.
38. BASU, Rājasekhara, *SBG*, (with Introd.), (M. Sarkar & Sons), Calcutta, 1961. Also *MBh-katha*, 1974.
- BASU, see VASU.
- 38a. BEDĀNANDA, Svāmī, *BG*, (with *Gurmukhī* com.), (Bhārata Sevāśrama Sangha), Calcutta, 1976.
39. BHAKTIVINODA, *Śrī Caitanya Śikshāmṛitam*, (Notes on V. Cakravartī's *BG*-com.), Calcutta, 1926 (3rd). See Tel. 33.
40. BHAKTISUDHĀRAKA, Nārāyanadāsa, *BG*, (with *Śrīdhārī* com.), 1940.
- BHAKTIVEDANTA, see Prabhupāda.
41. BHATTA, Gaurīśankara Śarman Tarkavāgīśa, *BG*, Calcutta, 1835; see also TARKAVĀGĪŚA, G.
42. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Amaracandra, *BG*, (tr. and com. from 2:11), Calcutta, 1951.
43. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Amūlyadhana, *BG*, (chs. 1-9, tr. and com.), Calcutta, 1932.
44. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Āśutosha, *BG*, Calcutta, 1934 (8th).
45. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Bhuvanamohana, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Benares, 1927 (2nd).
46. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Ganeśacandra, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Jessore, 1936.
47. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Gurunātha, *BG*, (com.), 1921.
48. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Haralāla, *Sahaja gītā-paricaya*, (text in Bengali script and verse com.), (Srilekha Sengupta), Calcutta, 1972.
49. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Haridāsa, Siddhāntavāgīśa, *MBh*, (with Nīlakantha's com. and own Sanskrit com.: *Bhārata-kaumudī*, and Bengali tr.), Calcutta, 1929-31.
50. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Kālīprasanna, *BG*, (with *Śrīdhārī* com.), Calcutta, 1891.

51. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Pancānana, *BG*, (Vangabasi Electr. Machine Press), Calcutta, 1915; also with notes, Calcutta, 1941 (32nd ed.).
52. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Prasannakumāra Śāstrī, *SBG*, (*mūla, sarala anvaya, viśada vangānuvāda o vistrita tippanī sahita*), (Śāstrapracāra Press), Calcutta, 1909 (10th).
53. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Upendranātha, *SBG-upanishat*, (tr. and com. based on *Śrīdharī* with Preface and 2 articles; revised and enlarged by Aśokanātha Śāstrī, Vedāntatīrtha), Calcutta, 1945.
54. BHŪMYĀ-DĀSA, Śrī Kshīrodanārāyana, *SBG-upanishad, Śrī Krishna-bhāvinī vanga-bhāshā-tīkā sameta* (ch. 1), (Luna Press), Calcutta, 1924; (chs. 2-3) (Ānanda Press), Calcutta, 1925-26. . . .; (chs. 7-12), 1953.
55. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Krishnadhana, *Gītā-mangalam*, Calcutta, 1892.
56. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Saccidānanda Bāla, *SBG*, (*prathama-prasthāna-karma-mīmāṃsā svayam-prakāśa-bhāshya sameta*), (Metcalf Press), Calcutta, 1916-17.
- 56a. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Śīśirakumāra, *SBG*, (with com.), (V. V. Datta), Calcutta, 1960.
57. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Uttamānanda, *BG*, (com.), 1927.
58. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Vidyāvāgīśa, *BG*, (verse com.), Calcutta, 1902.
59. CAKRAVARTĪ, Amritalāla, *BG*, (Nanda Granthamālā, 1), Calcutta, 1925.
60. CAKRAVARTĪ, Mahendranātha, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Rajpur, 1895.
61. CAKRAVARTĪ, Nakulacandra, *Gītā-rasāmrita, (arthāt mūla evam kathina-kathina śabdera artha o mātātmya saha ati sarala payāra chande racita)*, (Metcalf Pr. Wks.), Calcutta, 1913 (2nd); see above, 39.
- CAKRAVARTĪ, Nīśikānta, *MBh*, (retold, in verse), Calcutta, 1925.
62. CAKRAVARTĪ, Pancānana, *BG*, (with com. of Śāṅkara and Śrīdhara), Dacca, 1898.
63. CAKRAVARTĪ, Praphullakumāra, *BG*, (with com. of Śrīdhara, Ānandagiri, Śāṅkara), Calcutta, 1923.
- 63a. CAKRAVARTĪ, Rājakumāra, *MBh*, (in simple prose), (Ashutosh Libr.), Calcutta, 1914.
64. CAKRAVARTĪ, Sacindra Kumāra, *Mahābhāratīyakathā, Kaurava o Pāṇḍava*, Calcutta, 1964.
65. CAKRAVARTĪ, Trailokhyānātha, *Gītāra svarājya, (arthāt vangānuvāda sameta BG)*, (India Press), Dacca, 1929.
- CAKRAVARTĪ, Trilocana, *MBh*, 19th cent.?
- CANDRA, Dvijakavi, *MBh*, 18th cent.?
- CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, see also CHATTERJI.
66. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Amūlapāda, *SBG*, (with com.), Calcutta, 1964 (2nd). Also metrical tr. with exposition, Calcutta, 1936.
67. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Avānībhūshana, *BG*, (with com.), (Vidyodaya Libr.) Calcutta, 1952.
68. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Bankima Candra, *BG*, (with com.), Calcutta (1886), 1906; see also CHATTERJI, B. C.; (incomplete: chs. 1-4, followed by remaining tr. from Kālīprasanna Simha's *MBh*, Calcutta, 1902; also edited by Brajendranāth Bandopādhyāya and Sajanikānta Dāsa, Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad), Calcutta, 1970.
69. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Bhūtanātha, "Saptatīrtha", *SBG*, (with Madhusūdana's com.), (Krishna Bros.), Calcutta, 1939, 1284 pp.



70. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Candrakumāra Devaśarmā, *SBG vā adhyātma-vijnāna, vanga-bhāshā vyākhyā sameta*, (Hitaishī Press), Calcutta, 1919.
71. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Gurudāsa, *BG*, (with exposition), Calcutta, 1930.
- CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Kālicarana, see CHATTERJI, K.
72. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Lakshminārāyana, *SBG*, (with com.), (Pradipika), Calcutta, 1965 (2nd).
73. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Satiranjana, *BG*, (with com.), Ilampur-Burdwan, 1951.
74. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Surendranātha, *Madhumayī Gītā*, (metrical tr.), Santragachi, 1930 (2nd).
75. CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Vijayakrishna, *Upanishad-rahasya yā gītār-yogika vyākhyā*, (BG, ch. 5), (Karmayoga Press), Howrah, 1911.
- CATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Vinayabhūshana, see CHATTERJI, V.
76. CAUDHURĪ, Bhujangadhara Rāya, *Gītā-kāvya*, (free metrical tr.; Foreword by Hirendranātha Datta), Basirhat, 1939.
77. CAUDHURĪ, Hirendranātha, *SBG*, 2 vols., (Munsi House), Baranagar, 1962-64.
78. CAUDHURĪ, Virendranātha Simha, *Cheleder gītā*, (for children, in simple Bengali), Dacca, 1921.
79. CAUDHURĪ, Yatindra Vimala, *Śrī SBG*, (with Introd. essays, synopsis of com. and tr.), (Prācyavānī Gaveshanā Granthamālā), Calcutta, 1952.
80. CAUDHURĪ, Yogendralāla, *Gītā-laharī*, (metrical tr. set to tunes), Calcutta, 1911.
81. CHATTERJI, Bankim Chandra, *Dharmatattva*, (tr. into English by M. Ghosh with sections on BG).
82. CHATTERJI, Kālicaran, *Canda(sī) Gītā*, (tr. and com.), Deoghar, 1958.
83. CHATTERJI, Vinaybhushan, *Nityapāthya BG*, (Bengal Publ.), Calcutta, 1961.
- 83a. DARŚANĀCĀRYA, Cārukrishna, *SBG*, (verse tr.), (Sāstraparishad), Calcutta, 1959.
84. DĀSA, Āśutosha, *Gītā-madhukarī*, (text with *anvaya*, *anuvāda*, *tīkā*, and Śrīdhara's com.), (Fine Art Printing Press), Calcutta, 1920 (2nd rev. and enl.).
- DĀSA, Bhrigurāma, *Bhārata*, 18th cent.? Also Nemaī Dāsa and Vallabha Dāsa.
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92. DATTA, Kedāranātha, Rasikaranjana nāma, *BG*, 1885; also with V. Cakravartti's com., Calcutta, 1886.
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- 106-7. GHOSHĀ, Isānacandra and GHOSHĀ, Yatindranātha, *BG*, (with com.), Chunchura, 1913. Also *Ādhyātmika Gītā*, (chs. 1-15), Calcutta, 1922.
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110. GHOSHĀ, Madana-mohana, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Calcutta, 1899.
111. GHOSHĀ, Nārāyana-candra, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Calcutta, 1927.
112. GHOSHĀ, (Dasa) Nityānanda, *MBh*, and 17th cent (see p. 174).
113. GHOSHĀ, Prītikumāra, *Saralagītā*, (P. K. Ghosh & Co.), Calcutta, (1961), 1965 (rev.).
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— KĀŚĪRĀMA, see DĀSA, Kāśīrāma.  
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203. ŚĀSTRĪ, Lakshmana, *SBG*, (*mūla, anvaya, gītāmāhātmya, viśuddha vangānuvāda o tippanī prabhriti samvalita*), (Kālikā Press), Calcutta, 1918.
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237. TARKĀLANKĀRA, Jaganmohana, *MBh*, 1862.
- TARKĀLANKĀRA (TŪRKULUNKAR, Joy Gopal), see DĀSA, Kāśī.
238. TARKACUDĀMANI, Mādhavacandra, *BG*, (with com. of Śāṅkara, Śrīdhara, and own com.), Dacca, 1885-86; (also with Madhusūdana's com.), Calcutta, 1886, 1908.

\* Although the version of the *MBh* by the 17th c. poet Kāśīrāma Dāsa was and is almost universally current throughout the Bengali-speaking areas, the *Tattvabodhinī Patrikā* commissioned a prose translation of the *MBh*. This work was started in 1839.

Dās remarks : "It was commenced by Vidyāsāgar and later Kalīprasanna Simha made a fresh translation with the help of pandits. This was possibly the first time pandits were employed on a translation from Sanskrit to Bengali. The translation of the *MBh* was an important event in the history of Bengali prose and it remains a standard work in Bengali."

S. K. DĀS, *Early Bengali Prose* (Carey to Vidyāsāgar), (Bookland Priv. Ltd.), Calcutta, 1966, p. 209.

Early reprints of this *MBh* came out from Calcutta, 1899-1902; 1900-1902; 1903; 1907; 1909; 1910; 1913-16; 1914 (synopsis by Haripada Ghosha); 1924...

239. TARKACUDĀMANI, Śaśadhara, *BG*, (with Śankara's com.), Calcutta, 1887; (also with Sanskrit gloss *Saralārtha-prabodhinī* of Prasannakumāra Śāstri), Calcutta, 1912.
240. TARKARATNA, Mathurānātha, *BG*, (with com. of Śankara, Śrīdhara, Rāmānuja, Madhusūdana and own com.), Calcutta, 1881, 1887.
241. TARKARATNA, Pancānana, *BG*, (with notes), Calcutta, (1896), 1923.
242. TARKATĪRTHA, Pārvaticarana, *BG*, (with com.), 1911; (also with Śrīdhari), Calcutta, 1921.
243. TARKAVAGĪŚA, Gaurīśankara, *BG*, (with Śrīdhari), Calcutta, 1852; see also, BHATTA, G.
244. TATTVANIDHI, Vipranārāyana, *BG*, (selections in metrical tr.), 1931.
245. THĀKURA, Bhaktivinoda, *BG*, (with com.), 3 vols., (Sārasvata Gaudiya Āsana), (1967), 1973.
246. THĀKURA, Jyotirindranātha, *SBG*, (tr. of Tilak's *Gītā-rahasya*), Calcutta, (1924), 1978.
247. THĀKURA, Satyendranātha, *SBG*, (*bāṅgalā padye anuvādita*, with introduction based on N. Alexander's "Gita and Gospel"), (Ādī Brāhma Samāja Press), Calcutta, 1904; 1923.
- 247a. THĀKURA, Surendranātha, *MBh*, (retold), (Ādī Brāhma Samāja Press), Calcutta, 1904; 1906.
248. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Durgācarana, *BG*, n.d.
249. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Kālīdhana, *SBG*, (*mūla, vyākhyā o mähātmya saha vangānuvāda*, verse tr.), (Kālīdasa Mitra), Calcutta, 1913.
- VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Karunānidhāna, see MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA, V. I.
250. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Keśavacandra, *BG*, (metrical tr.), Calcutta, 1901.
251. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, K., *Meyeder gītā*, (simple expos. for girls), Calcutta, 1922.
252. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Priyanātha, *BG*, (poetical tr.), (Banerjee & Co.), Gidni, 1950.
253. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Surendranātha, *SBG*, (*gītārthakaumudī vangalā vyākhyā sahita*), (Hari Sabha Press), Contai, 1910.
254. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Umeśacandra, *Gītā-sangīta*, (verse tr.), (City Press), Midnapore, 1910-11.
255. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Vaikuntanātha, *Śrī BG evam padyaracita vanga-bhāṣhā arthasangraha*, (British Gazette Office), Calcutta, (1818), 1879 (5th).
256. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Vinodalāla, *Gītānuvāda*, (metr. tr.), Uttarpara, 1888.
257. VARGĪŚA, Ānandacandra Vedānta, *BG*, (with 4 commentaries), (Bhattacharya), Calcutta, 1892, 567 pp.
258. VASU, B. V., *BG*, (com.), n.d.
259. VASU, Devendravidyaya, *SBG*, (*padyānuvāda o vyākhyā*, up to ch. 13), 5 vols., (Metcalf Press), Calcutta, 1913; vol. 6 (chs. 14-15), 1919.
260. VASU, Maladhar, *BG*, (tr. ordered by Hussain Shah), end 15th cent. (see above, p. 174).
261. VASU, Mohinimohana, *Amiya gītā*, (metrical tr. of chs. 1-2), Baradi, 1920.



262. VASU, Rājaśekhara, *BG*, (M. Sirkar & Sons), Calcutta, 1961.
263. VEDĀNANDA, *BG gurumukhībhāṣya*, (Bhārata Sevāśrama Sangha), Calcutta, 1956.
264. VEDĀNTAVĀGĪŚA, Kālivara, *SBG*, (*mūla, anvaya, tippanī, vangānuvāda o gītāmāhātmya*), (Vasāka Press), Calcutta, (1897), 1911 (5th); also translation of the MBh, prepared together with Śrīdharacūdāmani Bhattācārya, in 11 vols., (Alfred Press), Serampore, 1870-84.
265. VEDAŚĀSTRĪ, Dinabandhu, *Prācīna gītā*, (with Sanskrit text of Bali island, in 70 couplets), Calcutta, 1933.
266. VIDYĀBHŪSHANA, Kālimohana, *SBG*, (*mūla, tippanī, anvaya, vangānuvāda, gītā-māhātmya*...), (Hindu Press), Calcutta, 1918; (revised by Anantahari Kāvvaratna), Calcutta, 1934 (5th).
- VIDYĀBHŪSHANA, Satisācandra, see SARVAVIDYĀ, J.
267. VIDYĀBHŪSHANA, Yogendranātha, *BG*, (with 3 commentaries), (Yogāśrama), Kāśī, 1925, 900 pp.
- 268-69. VIDYĀNANDA, Dāmodara Mukhopādhyāya, *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, Calcutta, 1909. Also *BG*, (with 13 commentaries), Calcutta, 1923, 3400 pp.
270. VIDYĀNIDHI, Bholānātha, *BG*, (verse tr.), 1926.
- 270a. VIDYĀRATNA, Giridhara, *MBh*, (metrical tr.), Calcutta, 1919.
271. VIDYĀRATNA, Gosvāmī Vrajavallabha, *BG*, (with *Śrīdharī*), Calcutta, (1880), 1892.
272. VIDYĀRATNA, Hemacandra, *BG*, Calcutta, 1894.
273. VIDYĀRATNA, Kālīprasanna, *SBG*, (*mūla, anvaya o tippanī sahita vangānuvāda evam gītāmāhātmya*), (Suddhārṇava Press), Calcutta, 1906 (rev.), 1921.
- 273a. VIDYĀRATNA, Rāmasevaka, *Bhīṣmaparva*, in Jaganmohana Tarkālankāra's MBh, 4 vols., (Aghoranath B.), Calcutta, 1885-89.
274. VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA, Ānandīrāma, *BG*, (metrical tr., edited with notes by Vasantarajana Rāya from Ms. of 1719-20), Calcutta, 1914.
- VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA, Rāmarūpa, see VIDYĀVINODA, V.
275. VIDYĀVINODA, Kumudacandra, *SBG*, (Gupta Press), Calcutta, 1908.
276. VIDYĀVINODA, Vinodavihārin and VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA, Rāmarūpa, *BG-tīkā*, (*mūla, tīkā, prāñjala vangānuvāda o gītāmāhātmyam*), (Gupta Press), Calcutta, 1918.
277. VRAJAVIDEHĪ, Santadāsa Bābājī, *BG*, (with introduction and notes), Calcutta, 1934.

#### 4.20. Translations into Assamese

Assamese (*Asamī*) is the easternmost Indo-Aryan language of India, (spoken by nearly 8 million people) and one of the fifteen major national languages of India.

The earliest literature in Assamese is dated between the 10th and the 12th c. A.D. The language of the *Caryāpadas* of the Sahajayānī Siddhas “represents the latest phase of Magadhan Apabhramśa, and so all eastern

Indian languages, viz. Assamese, Bengali, Oriya and Maithili claim these songs as the earliest specimens of their literature”<sup>1</sup>:

The pioneering work in the translation and adaptation of the epics was done by Mādhava Kandali, who rendered Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana* into Assamese, towards the middle of the fourteenth century<sup>2</sup>. Śankaradeva (1449-1568) translated several cantos of the *Bhāgavata-purāna* and the last canto of the *Rāmāyana* into Assamese verse<sup>3</sup>. The rendering of the tenth canto especially has had great religious and literary influence.

A junior contemporary of Śankaradeva, Rāma Sarasvatī ‘Bhārata Bhūshana’, was put in charge of a complete translation of the *Mahābhārata*. He “himself translated thirty thousand verses (which cover the *Bhīshma parvan*). He did not translate all the verses of each chapter but rendered into smooth Assamese verses only the essential *ślokas*...”<sup>4</sup>. In the early 17th century, the BG was rendered into Assamese prose by Bhattadeva. Rabindranath Tagore wrote a few lines of praise for this remarkable *Kathā-gītā* in the 1908 edition, and admitted that the translator “could handle prose in such a remarkable lucid style more than a century before we had any prose book in Bengal”.

#### List of Assamese translations:

1. ANANTA, (Ununtu-Kundulee), *BG*, (ref. in W. Ward, 1818).
2. BARĀ, Ratneśvar, *SBG*, (metrical tr.), Nowgong, 1922.
3. BARDALOI, Gopināth, *Gāndhījīr Anāsakti Yoga*, (tr. of M. K. Gandhi's Gujarātī version), Shillong, 1948.
4. BARUVĀ, Harinārāyana, *BG*, (D. Baruva & Bros.), Nalbārī, 1945 (2nd); H. Barua also edited the Assamese MBh of the 16th c., i.e. the tr. of Rāmasarasvatī (and Pancānana).
5. BARUVĀ, Padmanāth G., *Gītāsār*, (Lilā Agency), Tejpur, 1935.
6. ‘BHATTADEVA’, Vaikunthanātha Bhāgavata Bhattācārya, *Kathā gītā*, (easy prose tr.), beginning 17th cent., [publ. in Devanāgarī, (Maitri Ashram), Uttar Lakhimpur, 1972]; also ed. by Hemacandra Gosvāmī, Gauhati, 1908.

1. S. N. SARMA, *Assamese Literature*, p. 44, in J. GONDA, ed., *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. IX, 2, Wiesbaden, 1976. See also S. N. SARMA, *Epics and Puranas in Early Assamese Literature*, Gauhati, 1971; PRAPHULLADATTA GOSVAMI, ‘Translation : The Situation in Assamese’, in *Indian Literature*, 13 (1970), June, 51-66.
2. S. N. SARMA, *op. cit.*, p. 46. B. K. Barua remarks that “relevant verses from the Gītā were first rendered into Assamese by the two saints Śankaradeva and Mādhavadeva, to expound their doctrines of devotion, liberation and incarnation”, in *History of Assamese Literature*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 60. B. K. Barua is also the chief editor of a complete translation of the MBh.
3. *Ibidem*, p. 54.
4. *Ibidem*, p. 61.



7. CAUDHURĪ, Rādhikānanda, *SBG*, (metrical tr.), (Universal Religions Union), Gauhati, 1918.
8. DATTA, Bāpūrāma, *Gītā-gunamālā*, (metrical summary with com.), Lakshmipur, 1925.
9. DVIJA, Lakhminātha and DVIJA, Prithurāma, *MBh*, (portions in verse), 18th cent.
- DVIJA, Prithurāma, see DVIJA, Lakhminātha.
10. GOSVĀMĪ, Suprathā, *MBh-kathā*, (K. Thakur), Shillong, 1939.
11. KHĀTANIYĀR, Kālidāsa, *Gāndhīgītā*, (Kuladhar Khātiniyār), Sib-sagar, 1947.
12. KAVIRATNA, Deva Gosvāmī, *BG*, (prose tr.), Calcutta, 1874.
13. MAHANTA, Harirāma, *BG*, Jorhat, 1931.
- 13a. MAHARĀJA, Krishnakānta, *Gītāmrita*, (verse tr.), (M. C. Datta), Dibrugar, 1961.
14. MIŚRA, B. G., *SBG*, (Dutta Baruah & Co.), Gauhati, 1971.
15. MIŚRA, Govinda, *Śrī-krishna-gītā*, (verse tr. with com.), 16th cent.
- 15a. MIŚRA, Rāma, *Bhishmaparva*, middle 17th cent.
16. MIŚRA, Ratnākara, *Gītā-kīrtana*, (verse tr.), 18th cent.
17. NĀTHA, Pitārāma, *SBG*, (verse tr.) (Oriental Book), Gauhati, 1958. Also *SBG*, (prose tr.), Nowgong, 1958.
- PĀTHAKA, Gopinātha, *MBh*, (portions in verse), early 17th cent.
- PĀTRA, Kavindra, *MBh*, ('Kavindra MBh', abridged), end 16th cent.
18. PHUKAN, Rādhānātha, *SBG*, (Gītārthi Samāj), Jorhat, 1957, (2nd).
- RĀMASARASVATĪ, see No. 19.
- SANJAYA, *MBh*, end 16th cent.
19. SARASVATĪ, Rāma, *MBh*, (some parts, including *Bhishma-parvan*), 16th cent., (BG-portion in 58 verses).
20. ŚARMĀ, Khageśvara, *Adhyātma gītā*, (text in Assamese script, tr. and com.), (L. Bhattacharya), Jorhat, (1914), 1970.
- ŚARMĀ, Khageśvara, *Kathā MBh*, Jorhat, 1925.
21. ŚRĪKRISHNAPURĪ, Parivrājakagosāi, Svāmī, *Śrī Śrī Bhagavān Gītā*, (on BG?), (N. Talukdar), Batarhat, 1951.
22. TĀLUKADĀRA, Gaurikānta, *SBG*, (Pavitrakumāra Tālukadāra), Gauhati, 1953.

#### 4.21. Translations into Oriya

Oriya is spoken by ca. 20 million people, mainly in Orissa and has its own alphabet. The Jains may have produced one of the earliest literary works in Oriya, when Hemacandra (11th century) prepared a version of the Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup>. In the middle of the 15th century, Śūdra-muni Śāraladāsa made a literary recomposition of the Mahābhārata, with many alterations and additions.

Mansinha remarks: "Sarala Dasa has not only changed the original epic characters in his own peasant way, he has played havoc even with the

1. See M. J. KASHALIKAR, 'Hemacandra's version of the MBh', in *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, 19 (1969-70), 234-46.

very order of the 18 books of the original epic . . . (He) turned to good use, in his epic, his own day-to-day experiences as well as contemporary political and historical happenings.”<sup>2</sup>

The Vaishnava poet Balarāma Dāsa (ca. 1500) is also said to have made a verse translation of the BG. Ward (1818) mentions a version of the BG in “Ootkulu” (Utkal being the Sanskrit term for Oriya) by Krishnadāsa. Phakir Mohana Senāpati, the pioneer of modern Oriya literature, translated single-handed the complete Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata into Oriya verse. He also produced a special verse translation of the BG, which has been reprinted frequently.

List of Oriya translations:

- BG, (prose and verse tr. or com.), several Mss.
  1. an., BG in ‘Ootkulu’ (ref. by W. Ward, 1818).
  2. ĀCĀRYA, Harihara, *Gītā*, (Grāma Sevaka Samabaya Prakāśana), Cuttack, 1953.
- DĀNA, Gauracandra, see DĀNA, Mādhavacandra.
  3. DĀNA, Mādhavacandra and DĀNA, Gauracandra, *Pocket SBG*, Cuttack, 1947.
  4. DĀSA, Bālakrishna, *SBG*, (Sārasvata Press), Cuttack, 1932.
  5. DĀSA, Balarāma, (Vaishnava poet of Puri, 16th cent.), *SBG*, (verse tr., ed. with introduction by Cittaranjana Dāsa), (Viśvabhārati) (Utkala Sāhitya Samāja), Cuttack, 1907; Śāntiniketan, 1952. Also a *Gupta Gītā*, (ethical poem of 33 chs., discourse between Krishna and Arjuna), 16th cent.
  6. DĀSA, Bhagavān, *BG*, (prose tr.), (Candimātā Pustak Bhandāra), Calcutta, 1955.
  7. DĀSA, Bhikāricarana, *SBG*, Cuttack, 1926.
  8. DĀSA, Daśarathī, *SBG*, (metrical tr., with notes by Śivaprasāda Dāsa), Sambalpur, (1963), 1971.
  9. DĀSA, Gopinātha, *MBh-tīkā*, (abridged), (Abhinnaacandra Dāna), Cuttack, 1942.

2. M. MANSINHA, *History of Oriya Literature*, (Sahitya Akademi), Delhi, 1962, pp. 61 and 59; (pp. 50-69, ch. VII: Oriya MBh and its Sudra Poet). On page 12 Mansinha mentions 30 (on p. 114: 50) versions of the MBh. On p. 65, however, he writes: “In Oriya there are now three authentic verse translations of the original MBh. But people care little for pedantic accuracy. They hunger for life’s realities and sensations, as well as for heroic and aesthetic dreamlands, where their own little selves stand magnified a thousandfold. All these the reader gets in plenty in the grand wilderness of Sarala’s Oriya MBh.”

He further notes that Gopinatha Nanda Sarma critically edited the MBh of Sarala Dasa, “which had long been the contempt of Brahmins in Orissa and (he) produced a book of textual analysis and literary assessment of unquestioned logic and authority on the great epic poet” (p. 208).

See also by the same author: ‘Sarala Dasa’, in V. RAGHAVAN, *Ramayana, MBh and Bhagavata writers*, (Cultural Leaders of India, Publ. Division), New Delhi, 1978, pp. 68-77.



10. DĀSA, (Śrī) Hariprasāda, *SBG*, (verse tr.), (Utkal Press), Balasore, 1915.
11. DĀSA, Jaganātha, *SBG*, (metrical tr. in Bengali char.), (ed. by Jānakī ballabhakara; Nihār Press), Contai, 1917.
12. DĀSA, Krishnacandra, 'Bābā-jī', *Pūrnacandrikā-gītā*, n.d.
13. DĀSA, Kulamani, *SBG*, (Cuttack Publ. H.), Cuttack, 1960 (8 + 622 pp.).
14. DĀSA, Nilakantha, *SBG*, (with exposition), (New Student's Store), Cuttack, 1952 (2nd).
15. DĀSA, Śārāla, 'Śūdrāmuni', *MBh*, middle 15th cent, (during the reign of Kapilendra Deva of Orissa); (ed. by Artta Vallabha Mahanti), 1965-70.
- DĀSA, Viśvāmbara, *Vicitra bhārata*, (poetical version of *MBh*), Ms.
16. DEVĪ, Haripriyā, *SBG*, (verse tr.), Cuttack, 1954.
17. GARGABATU, Ratnākara, *BG*, Cuttack, 1941.
- HEMACANDRA, *MBh* (?), see above, footnote 1.
18. KANŪNGO, Brajakiśora, *SBG*, Cuttack, 1965.
- KARA, Gokulānanda, *MBh-kathā*, 1961.
- MAHANTI, A., see DĀSA, S.
19. MAHANTI, Indramani, *SBG*, (text in Oriya script and tr.), Cuttack, 1962.
20. MAHĀPĀTRA, Cakradhara, *BG*, (Cuttack Trading Co.), 1956.
21. MAHĀPĀTRA, Govinda Candra, *MBh*, 12 vols., (Orissa Sāhitya Akademi), Bhubanesvar, 1965, (also *MBh*, in prose, abridged, 2 vols., Baripada, 1904).
22. MAHĀPĀTRA, Jagadbandhu, *Gītā-bhāgavata*, (Rādhānātha Coop. Press), Cuttack, n.d.
23. MIŚRA, Bairāgīcarana, *BG*, Cuttack, 1952 (2nd).
24. MIŚRA, Ganeśvara, *BG*, (*sārāla gītā*), (B. Misra), Athagarh, 1971.
- MIŚRA, Godāvariśa, *MBh-kahānī*, 1954.
25. MIŚRA, Govinda candra, *Anāsaktiyoga*, (of M. K. Gandhi), Cuttack, 1931.
26. MIŚRA, Jagannātha, *SBG*, Berhampore, 1966.
27. MIŚRA, Kaśūrāttra, *MBh-kathā*, (abridged), 1962.
28. MIŚRA, Lakshmana, *BG*, (verse tr.), Jāpur, 1964.
29. MIŚRA, Surendranātha, *SBG*, (ch. 18), Sambalpur, 1970.
30. PANDITA, Bihārīlāla, *BG*, Cuttack, (1895), 1905.
31. PATTANĀYAKA, Banabehārī, *MBh*, (retold), 1954; *BG*, (abridged), (Gitastore), Cuttack, 1952.
32. RATHA, Lokanātha, *Pilānka gītā*, (U. Dāsa), Cuttack, 1933.
- RATHA, Nilakantha, see SIMHA, K.
33. RĀYA, Hemacandra, *Samare Śrīkrishna o BG-amṛta*, Jajpur, (1952), 1961.
34. RĀYA, Rāmaśankara, *SBG*, Cuttack, 1928 (7th ed.).
35. SADĀNGĪ, Kamalalocana, *Dharmavijnāna BG*, Sambalpur, 1964.
36. ŚARMĀ, Janārdhana, *BG*, (verse tr.), Cuttack, 1924.
37. SENĀPATI, Phakīra Mohana, (Faqir), *SBG utkala padyāre anuvāḍita*, (text in Oriya char. and verse tr.), (Arunodaya Press), Cuttack, (1907), 1915 (4th); *SBG bhāshānuvāda sahita*, (Edward Press), Cuttack, 1917; (M. & G. Dāna), Cuttack, 1947.
38. SIMHA, Jagabandhu, *SBG*, (Odiyā Sāhitye Pracāra Sangha), (in prose), Cuttack, 1930.

39. SIMHA, Krishna, and RATHA, Nilakantha, *BG*, (with com.), (New Student's Store), Cuttack, 1953 (2nd).
40. SIMHA, Raghunātha, *SBG*, (Daśarathī Pustakālay), Cuttack, 1967.
41. SIMHA, Rājā Krishna, *MBh*, 12 vols., (Cuttack Trading Co.), Cuttack, 1940-55.
42. (TILAK, L.), *SBG-rahasya*, (tr. from Marathi), 2 vols., (Utkala Sāhitya Press), Cuttack, 1915; 1971.
43. VIDYĀDHARA, Niranjana, *SBG*, (verse tr. and com.), (Vikāsa Pratishthāna), Jayapura-Orissa, 1959.

#### 4.22. *Translations into Gujarati*

If we classify Urdu and Hindi together then Gujarati takes the 6th place among Indian languages, spoken by ca. 26 million people mainly in Gujarat. It developed from Saurāshtrī Apabhramśa and belongs to the western branch of Indo-Aryan. The Gujarati script is a cursive form of Devanāgarī, known as Mahājani. It leaves out the upper part of the Nāgarī script, thus resembling ancient Kaithī.

The first poet in Old-Gujarati is Narasimha Mahetā (1440-80). An Old-Gujarati translation of the Mahābhārata was made at the end of the 16th century.

Jhaveri remarks: "Narahari (alive in 1621) is noted for translating the BG for the first time in Gujarati." In a footnote he adds that "Pandit Dhanraj is said to be the first to translate BG in 1604. But he has given only a summary of every *adhyaya* (canto) of the Gītā."<sup>1</sup>

The BG became the most popular of the vast number of Hindu scriptures mainly as a result of the translation of Mahātmā Gāndhī. He discovered the BG as a mother and as a guru of *anāsakti yoga*. Mahādev Desai relates how his fellow-workers in the movement urged Gāndhījī to make his own Gujarati translation: "We shall be able to study a translation of the message of the Gita, only when we are able to study a translation of the whole text by yourself."<sup>2</sup> When in prison, Gāndhī found a peaceful atmosphere for studying the BG more carefully. Especially after reading Tilak's translation and commentary his appetite was whetted, and he completed his translation in 1929. The originality of Gāndhī's translation is that it reflects a 'lived' Gītā message; it is a Gītā enacted by a group of dedicated lovers of truth and justice:

1. M. JHAVERI, *History of Gujarati Literature*, (Sahitya Akademi), New Delhi, 1978, p. 39.

2. All quotations are taken from the *Introduction* in M. DESAI, *The Gospel of selfless Action or the Gita according to Gandhi*, Ahmedabad, 1946.



“The accompanying rendering contains the meaning of the Gītā message which this little band is trying to enforce in its daily conduct.”

“I am not aware of the claim made by translators of enforcing their meaning of the Gita in their own lives. At the back of my reading there is the claim of an endeavour to enforce the meaning in my own conduct for an unbroken period of 40 years . . . My co-workers too have worked at this translation . . . Vinoba, Kaka Kalelkar, Mahadev Desai and Kishorlal Mashruvala.”

This translation illustrates the modern view of hermeneutics which says that an ancient text still speaks today, that the original message is part of the dynamic world of language in which both speaker and listener effectively contribute to the meaningfulness of that message.

A Nāgarī transliteration of the Gujarati original reads as follows:

BG 1.1:

हे संजय ! मने कहो, के युद्ध करवानी इच्छाथी धर्मक्षेत्ररूप कुरुक्षेत्र मां एकठा थयेला मारा अने पांडुना पुत्रोए शुं कर्युं?

and 2.47:

कर्मने विषे ज तने अधिकार (काबू) छे, तेमांथी नीपजतां अनेक फळोने विषे कदी नहीं । कर्मनुं तारो हेतु न हजो । कर्म न करवा विषे पण तने आग्रह न हजो ।

Gāndhījī explains how the Gītā message has been actualized with new meaning for him:

“On examining the history of languages, we notice that the meaning of important words has changed or expanded. This is true of the Gita. The author has himself extended the meanings of some of the current words (e.g. ‘sacrifice’ is not animal-sacrifice any longer; ‘sannyasa’ is not just cessation of all activity). Thus the author of the Gita, by extending meanings of words has taught us to imitate him.

“Let it be granted, that according to the letter of the Gita it is possible to say that warfare is consistent with renunciation of fruit. But after 40 years’ unremitting endeavour fully to enforce the teaching of the Gita in my own life, I have, in all humility, felt that perfect renunciation is impossible without perfect observance of *ahimsa* in every shape and form . . .

“With every age the important words will carry new and expanding meanings. But its central teaching will never vary. The seeker is at liberty to extract from this treasure any meaning he likes so as to enable him to enforce in his life the central teaching.”

This consideration of Gāndhījī coincides perfectly well with the theories on Dynamic Translation explained in chapter 2 above.

## List of Gujarati translations:

1. an., *MBh*, (Old Gujarati), ca. 1587; see *Forbes Gujarātī Granthamālā*, Nos. 15, 20.
2. an., *BG*, (manuscripts), e.g. *Bālāvabodha* of 1793, (Punya Vijaya's College, Ahmedabad); *Saptaślokī* Commentary, (*Oriental Handschriften*, Deutschland, *Indische Handschriften*, No. 1216); University of Leipzig, No. 147, etc.
3. an., *SBG*, (*tīkā sameta*), (N. B. & S. B. Khatu Press), Bombay, 1875.
4. an., *SBG*, (*bhāshāntara-mūlaśloka sāthe*), (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1882.
5. an., *BG prabandha*, Bombay, 1887.
6. an., *SBG*, (*saralārtha sahita*), (Sastum Sāhitya Vardhaka Kāryālaya), Ahmedabad, (6th ed., 1922), 1960. . .
7. an., *SBG*, (illustrated, with Nivrittidāsa Jinadeva's *Bhāvārthadīpikā*), (Gujarātī Press), Bombay, 1922 (2nd ed.).
8. an., *Panca-ratna-gītā* (i.e. 5 texts from the MBh: *BG*, *Vishnusahasranāma*, *Bhīshma-stava-rāja*, *Anusmriti*, *Gajendra-moksha*, with tr.); (Gujarātī Press), Bombay, 8th ed., 1923; (Granthodaya Press), Ahmedabad, (1926), 4th ed., 1953. . .
9. an., *SBG sarala bhāshāntara sahita*, (Pāthaka Press), Bombay, 1923.
10. an., *SBG*, (tr. according to Śrīdhara), (Utkrishtha Press), Ahmedabad, 1928, 2nd ed.
- an., *BG*, (Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, ca. 1938.
11. an., *BG* (chapters 5-6: *karmasanyāsa-yoga āne ātmasanyama-yoga*), (*BG Pāthaśālā*), Bombay, 1955.
12. an., *SBG*, (Harihar Kāryālaya), Surat, 1960.
13. an., *BG*, (ed. by Krishnaprasāda Bhatta), (Diamond Jubilee Press), Ahmedabad, 1961.
14. an., *BG premyo*, (Paramānanda Prakāśan Mandir), Bombay, 1963.
15. an., *Gītāmamathi cunti kadhela*, (108 ślokas with Gujarati and English tr.), (J. O. Lakhani), Bombay, 1970.
16. AMARAJĪ, Śāstrī Chaganalāla, *SBG*, (according to Vallabha's com.), (Gujarati Pr. Pr.), Bombay, 1911.
- AMĪNA, G. K., see PARAMĀRA, R. D.
17. ĀTMĀRĀMA, R. R. M. and RĀDHĀKRISHNA, *Bālopyogī gītāsāra*, (with Hindi and Gujarati tr.), (Jayadeva Bros.), Baroda, 1941.
18. BERAĪ, Gokuladāsa, *BG romaharshinī*, (R. R. Seth), Bombay, 1969.
- 18a. BETAI, Sundarājī, *BG*, (ref. by M. Jhaveri, *op. cit.*).
19. BHAGAVADĀCĀRYA, Svāmī, *BG-tatvavimarśa*, (with com.).
20. BHAGAVĀNADĀSA, *BG*, (ref. in A. Holtzmann).
- BHAKTIVEDĀNTA, see below, Eng. 54.
21. BHĀNUVIJAYA, Muni, *Sthitaprajna*, (metrical tr. and com. of BG 2: 45-72), (Sarvamangalam Parivār Ashram), Patna, 1970.
22. BHATTA, Chotālāla Narabherāma, *MBh*, 6 vols., 1885.
23. BHATTA, G. B., *Gītāi*, (of V. BHAVE), (tr. into Gujarati for Rājasthāna Sarvodya), 1980.
- 23a. BHATTA, N. Manīśankara, *BG*, (with “*Sāadhanābhāshya*” com.), Bombay, 1956 (2nd).
24. BHATTA, Krishnaprasāda Lallūbhāi, *SBG*, (Diamond Jub. Pr. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1961.
- 24a. CARANATĪRTHA, *SBG*, (Bhuvanesvari Pītha), Gondal, 1964.
- 24b. CĀVADĀ, K. S., *Śrī Jñāneśvarī*, Ahmedabad, 1978.

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25. CIDGHANĀNANDA, *BG gūdhārthadīpikā*, (tr. of Madhusūdana's com.), (Gujarātī Pr. Pr.), Bombay, 1910.
26. CUNĀRĀ, 'Āli Md. Jān Md., *Krishna-vānī*, (selections), (Śrī Krishna Press), Bombay, 1923.
27. DAVE, Jugatarāma, *Gītāgīta-manjarī*, 1945.
28. DESAI, Icchārām Sūryarām, *BG*, (Gujarātī Pr. Pr.), Bombay, 1889.
29. DESAI, Icchārām Sūryaram and DESAI, Manilāl Icchārām, *Śrī MBh*, 3 vols., (Gujarātī Pr. Pr.), Bombay, 1921.
30. DESAI, Manilāla Icchārāma, *Sacitra SBG*, (Gujarātī News Press), Bombay, 1925.
31. DESAI, Morārājī R., *BG*, (Gujarāta Vidyāpītha), Ahmedabad, 1975. See Hind. 74.
- DHANARĀJA, see PANDIT, D.
32. DIGAMBERJĪ, Svāmī, *Gītālocana*, (with Engl. tr. by B. T. Upadhyaya), (Kaivalyadham), Rajkot, 1960.
33. DOŚĪ, Manilāl Nathūbhāi, *BG (adhyayan)*, (P. Thakkar), Bhavnagar, n.d. (before 1934).
34. DŪRKĀL, Jayendrarāy Bhagvān Lāl, *Gītā-kaumudī athvā gītānā abhyāsne prakāśmaya karnārī candrikā*, (Āstik-Sāhitya Kāryālaya), Ahmedabad, 1951.
35. DVIVEDĪ, Manilāl Nāthūbhāi, *BG*, (with com.), (Tattvavivecaka Press), Bombay, 1893-34.
- DVIVEDĪ, Viśvanātha Govindajī, *MBh-sāra*, 1973.
36. GĀNDHĪ, Mohandās Karmcānd, Mahātmā, *Anāsakti yoga*, 1929.
- Note: A transliteration of the Gujarati text in Devanāgarī (with *Gītāpadārtha Kosha*) is published as *Gītā-triputī*, (Intr. by K. Kālelkar), (Navajīvana Prakāśan), Ahmedabad, 1960. See above, p. 192. See Hin. 91a; Ben. 91; Ass. 3; Ori. 25; Tel. 22; Tam. 53; Kan. 18; Mal. 13; Eng. 83. See also present list No. 46.
37. GĀNDHĪ, Nānūlāla Nārāyanadāsa, *SBG, tattvadīpikā tathā amritataranginī*, (Bhakti-granthamālā Press), Ahmedabad, 1919; (Śuddhādvaita Samsad), Ahmedabad, 1956.
38. GARHAVĪ, Pingalji Meghānanda, *Gītā dohāvalī*, see Hin. 94.
39. GATTŪLĀLAJĪ, Pandita, *BG*, (Śuddhādvaita com., with metrical tr.), (Āryasamudāya Vishayamālā, 6), Bombay, 1890.
40. HARAJĪVANADĀSA, Haragovindadāsa, *BG*, (according to Śrīdhara's com.), (Granthodaya Press), Ahmedabad, 1905.
41. HEMACANDRA, Nārāyana, *BGītānosāra*, (Nirnaya Sāgara Kāryālaya), Bombay, 1880.
42. HĪRUBHĀĪ, (Dr.), *SBG*, (metrical tr.), (Haribhai Dhare, Pictures Corp.), Bombay, (1950), 1962 (rev.).
43. JHAVERĪ, M., see above, p. 192 (referring to his own tr.).
44. JOŚĪ, Kānājī Kālidāsa, *Sacitra stavana samaślokī Śrī sarala BG*, (Śrī Krishna Pr. Pr.), Bombay, (1924), 1927 (3rd).
- 45-46. KĀLELKARA, Dattātreya Bālakrishna, (KĀKĀ KĀLELKAR), *Gītāsāra*, (Sastum Sāhitya Kāryālaya), Ahmedabad, 1947 (2nd); also *Gītādharmā*, (Navj. Pr. Mandir), Ahmedabad, 1944. Also *Samhalitā BG*, (selections, with an index of ślokas by Bhāi Jethālāla Gāndhī), (Navajīvana Prak.), Ahmedabad, 1954; also *BG* with *gītāpadārthakośa* and alphabetic index, with meanings according to M. K. Gandhi, (Navajīvana Prak.), Ahmedabad, 1960.
47. KĀLĪDĀSA, Śāstrī Śrīharilāla, *SBG*, (with tr. of *Madhusūdanī* com.); referred to in Hin, 196,

48. KAVI, Nhānālāla Dalapatarāma, *BG*, (verse tr.), Ahmedabad, (1910), 1934 (3rd).
- LAKHANI, see Eng. 140.
49. MAHĀRĀJA, Ācārya Śrī Caranatīrtha, *Bhojapatrī BG*, (of 745 śloka with Chandraghanta Sanskrit com. and Gujarati tr.), (Shri Bhuwaneswari Pith), Gondal, 1970.
50. MANEK, Karsandas Narasimha (1902-78), *BG*; also *Dharmakshetre Kurukshetre*, (a collection of seven short dramas in verse, *padya-nātaka*)\*.
51. MAŚARŪVĀLĀ, Śrī Kiśoralāla Ghanaśyāmalāla, *Gītā-dhvani*, (*sam-ślokī* tr.), (Navajīvana Prak.), Ahmedabad, 1946 (3rd), (tr. in Nāsik, 1933; see Hin. 272).
52. MODĪ, Pratāparāya Mohanalāla, *SBG*, Baroda, 1963 (587 pp.).
53. MŪLAJĪ, Prayāgajī Thakarasi, *Śrī-pramāna-sahasrī* and *SBG* (verse tr.), (Vartamāna Press), Bombay, 1906 (5th); 1921 (7th); [or *SBG*, *Gujarātī anuvāda*, (Sarasvati Press), Bombay, 1923].
54. MUN(A)ŚĪ, Vijayaśankara Dhanaśankara, *Sarala gītā*, (with preface, verse tr., com. and glossary), (N. M. Tripāthī), Bombay, 1962.
55. NĀKARA, *MBh*, ca. 1575; [ed. by Keśavarāma Śāstrī (as *Śrī MBh*), 7 vols., (Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā), Bombay, 1933-50].
56. NĀNĀLĀLA, (1877-1946), *BG*, (ref. by M. Jhaveri, *op. cit.*).
57. NARAHARI, *BG*, (1621), see above, p. 192.
- OKA, see PURUSHOTTAMADĀSA.
58. PANDIT DHANRĀJ, 1604, see above, p. 192.
59. PANDYĀ, Mānekalāla Harilāla, *Śrī-Krishna-gītā yāne SBG mūla śloka, padaccheda, samāsa, śabdārtha ane bhāvārtha sahita*, (Desai Print. Press), Ahmedabad, 1925.
- 60-61. PARAMĀRA, Ratnasimha Dipasimha, *Śrī Jnāneśvarī, gurjārānucaritra tathā sārtha BG sahita*, (Śrī-Vedānta Granthamālā, 1; Jubilee Pr. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1911; re-edited by G. D. Kahānadāsa Amīna, (Sastum Sahitya Press), Ahmedabad, 1924.
62. PATEL, G. B., *SBG*, (Gītādharmā Kāryālaya), Kashi, 1942.
63. PATEL, Sudhādevī, *Gītāmādhurī*, (selections), Nadiyad, 1955.
64. PATELA, Maganabhāi Caturabhāi, *SBG-jyoti*, (tr. and com.), (Sūryaprakāśa Print. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1927.
65. PATELA, Ratilāla Bahecaradāsa, *BG*, Bombay, 1967 (3rd, rev.).
66. PATELA, Vāmanarāva Prānagovinda, *SBG*, (Sastum Sāhitya Vardhaka Kāryālaya), Ahmedabad, 1949.
67. PĀTIL, Moro Nānājī, *Gītā Subhāshitam or Wise words from the Gītā*, (Gujarati and Engl. com.; aided by N. H. Mehta), (M. N. Patil), Bombay, 1928; see Eng. 178.
68. PREMADĀSA, *SBG pāncaratna tathā cāra upanishad*, (with tr. and com.; improved by Ranachodajī Uddhavajī), (Nirmala Print. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1912.
69. PREMĀNANDA, (1636-1734), *Bhīshmaparva*; ed. by B. Mahetā, (H. D. Kāmtāvalā), Baroda, n.d.; *BG*, dated 1682.

\* Ref. by M. JHAVERI (*op. cit.*, p. 186), who notes that Manek also wrote *Gītā vicāra*, a collection of fifty essays, and a *MBh kathā*, "containing shrewd references to the situation in post-independence India".

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70. PURUSHOTTAMADĀSA, Vrajalāla Shrophā, *BG*, (ed. with *Gītārtha dīpikā* and *Gītā tātparyasangraha* com.), (N. M. Tripathi), Bombay, 1957; 1973 (2nd, 832 pp.).
71. RĀMABHAGATA (Rāmabhakta), *BG (tikā)*, Ms., ca. 1670 (Oriental Inst. of Baroda).
72. RATANARĀMA, Purohita Badrilāla, *Strī-karttavya ane Purushone boddha*, (with *BG* and *Guru-gītā*, and collection of *stotras*), (Satyanārāyana Press), Ahmedabad, 1912.
73. SADĀRĀMA, Viśvanātha, *BG*, (com.), 1908.
74. SARASVATĪ, Ātmānanda, *BG-rahasya*, (United Print. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1912; see Com. 140; also *BG-Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, Ahmedabad, 1910.
75. ŚARMĀ, Joṣī Sāṅkaleśvara, "Manikānta", *Sacitra gajhalamām gītā*, (chs. 1-3), (Diamond Jubilee Press), Ahmedabad, 1920.
76. ŚARMĀ, Nathūrāma, *SBG, Rahasya-dīpikā*, (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1910 (3rd); (Ānandāśrama), Bilkha, 1950 (6th); also *SBG, sarala tikā sahita*, (Nirmala Pr. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1904.
77. ŚARMAN, Govardhana Ghanaśyāma, comp., *BG*, (*samaślokī* tr.), in *Ārya-samudaya*, (Subodh-Prakāśa Press), Bombay, 1889, 1-40.
78. ŚARMAN, Śrīkrishna Mohana, *SBG*, (with *anvayabodhinī tikā*), (Pāthaka Print. Press), Bombay, (1924), 1931.
79. ŚĀSTRĪ, Cimanalāla Hariśankara, *SBG*, (Pushtimārgīya Pāthśālā), Patna, 1965 (2nd).
- ŚĀSTRĪ, K. K., see NĀKARA; VAIKUNTHA, D.
80. ŚĀSTRĪ, Karunāśankara Bhānuśankara, *Śrī MBh*, 7 vols., (Sastum Sāhitya), Ahmedabad, 1927.
81. ŚĀSTRĪ, Mūlaśankara Motirāma, *SBG*, (with com.), (Jayant M. Śāstrī), Porabandar, (1958), 1959.
82. ŚĀSTRĪ, Pandita Ramānātha, *SBG, Bhagavad-dharmabodhinī tikā*, (Karnāṭaka Press), Bombay, 1922.
83. (ŚRĪDHARA), *BG Subodhinī*, (several Gujarati tr.).
84. ŚRĪRĀMA, *BG-tikā*, 1903.
- 84a. ŚROPHA, Mālatī, *Gītādarśana*, (with com.), (Gītābandhu Granthāvali), Bombay, 1962.
- ŚROPHA, V. P., see PURUSHOTTAMADĀSA.
85. ŚUKLA, Candrasankara Prānaśankara, *Gītādarśana*, (tr. of S. Rādhakrishnan's English version), (Vīrā & Co.), Bombay, 1947.
86. SŪRYARĀMA, T. P. Vyāsajī Vallabharāma, *SBG tippanī-sahita*, (The Diamond Jubilee Press), Ahmedabad, 1923; also *Mokshamārgī SBG*, (Vyāsa Publ.), Ahmedabad, 1963.
87. TASAKACHANDE, S. Nāthūbāi, *SBG*, (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1882.
88. TRIPĀTHĪ, Manahsukharāma Sūryarāma, *BG*, (in Devanāgarī char.), (D. T. Tripāthī), Bombay, 1926; also with *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* tr. and com., Bombay, 1926.
89. TRIVEDĪ Uttamalāl K., *SBG-rahasya*, (Tilak's com. in tr.) (1913), 1973 (4th).
90. VAIKUNTHA, Dvijakavi, *Bhīṣmaparva*, in *Śrī MBh*, 7 vols., by Keśavarāma Kāśīrāma Śāstrī, (Forbes Gujarati Sabhā), Bombay, 1933-49. See also NĀKARA.
91. VAISHNAVA, Ananta Prasāda Trīkamalāla, *SBG pada, artha tathā vivecana sahita*, (Satya-vijaya Print. Press), Ahmedabad, 1914 (2nd).
- 91a. VIHARI, (1866-1937), *BG*, (ref. by M. Jhaveri, *op. cit.*).
92. VIJAYA, Munibhānu, *BG-sthitaprajñah*, Pātana, 1970,

93. VISHNUDĀSA, *MBh*, (portions), ca. 1590.
94. VYĀSA, Lakhanāra Kalyānaji Ranachodaji, *BG*, (according to Śrīdhara's com), (Rajnagar Type Foundry Print. Pr.), Ahmedabad, 1904.
- VYĀSA, Vallabharāma, see SŪRYARĀMA.
95. YĀJNIKA, Keśavalāla Hariśankara, *Śrī gītāmāhātmya* (in verse), Varsoda, 1964.

#### 4.23. *Translations into Marathi*

Marathi — the official language of Maharashtra — is the southernmost Indo-Aryan language in India, spoken by about 42 million people. Colloquial Marathi has dialectical varieties according to districts (see below, 4.24).

Vishnudāsa Nāmā, who is sometimes associated with Nāmadeva, is probably the first Marathi poet who translated the Mahābhārata.

“But he has taken many liberties with the original and presented the Sanskrit epic in a rather distorted form with a number of additions, omissions and even contaminations . . . Peculiarly enough, the manuscripts of his works are at times found in the *mathas* of the Mahānubhāva sect and are written in its codified cipher.”<sup>1</sup>

His immediate successor is the great talent Mukteśvara (ca. 1600) (grandson of Ekanātha), who is especially famous for his five *parvans* of the Mahābhārata. His performance in this translation is exceptional and although left incomplete, it “surpasses all similar efforts either before or after him in point of the art of narration and characterisation”<sup>2</sup>. “Even his departures and digressions from the original are pleasant to read on account of their poetic charm; when he follows the epic closely his narrative at times surpasses that of Vyāsa.”<sup>3</sup>

Several poets tried later “to complete the Mahābhārata of Mukteśvara which he has left incomplete. But none of them came near him.”<sup>4</sup> C. Rudra (ca. 1682) translated the Udyoga- and the Bhishma-*parvans* of the Mahābhārata. It is not ascertained whether the BG is included in this Bhishmaparvan.

The same doubt arises about Amritarāya (1698-1753), for his authorship, at least of the Udyogaparvan, is uncertain<sup>5</sup>. Belonging to the

1. S. G. TULPULÉ, ‘Classical Marāṭhī Literature’, p. 366, in J. GONDA, *A History of Indian Literature*, IX.4, Wiesbaden, 1979.

For the survey in Marāṭhī, we have drawn heavily on Tulpulé's work.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 421, n. 613.



Tanjore group of the Rāmadāsī poets, Mādhava (ca. 1700) produced a translation of the Mahābhārata which has not been published so far<sup>6</sup>.

Again, the Bhīshmaparvan is one of the four *parvans* adapted to Marathi by Narahari Moreśvara (ca. 1760). In 1772 Moropanta started his enormous work, called *Āryābhārata* (completed 1782), based on the Mahābhārata. This work has 17,000 verses, "surpassing even Mukteśvara who wrote only on the five *parvans* out of a total eighteen"<sup>7</sup>.

Traditionally, Mukundarāja (*Vivekasindhu*, ca. 1300) is said to be the first Marathi author, but it can now be stated with certainty that he belonged to the third generation, after Cakradhara (of the Mahānubhāva sect) and/or Harinātha<sup>8</sup>. He must have been a contemporary of Jnānadeva (ca. 1290), who rewrote the original 700 verses of the BG into a commentary of 9,000 strophes, structured on the *ovī* pattern. The *ovī* consists of three rhymed verses, followed by a short fourth line without rhyme. It is an easily flowing rhyme, used even in the songs of women pounding rice.

In his *Jnānesvarī* (also called *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, 'a clarifying light') Jnānadeva does not follow an abstruse philosophical system, but uses simple comparisons in order to clarify difficult issues. The *Jnāneśvarī*

"entitles Jnānadeva to the fame as one of the greatest poets and the greatest interpreters of the Gītā, its distinguishing feature being its unique combination of philosophy, poetry and mysticism . . . It is not a commentary in the strict Sanskritic sense of the term, but a rather popular interpretation of the Bhagavadgītā presenting its teaching in an extremely poetical manner. Jnānadeva knows where to expatiate and where to summarise the original thought of the Gītā and this selectiveness is behind the literary form his work has eventually attained. A single term like *ahimsa* of the Gītā, for example, has inspired him to compose more than a hundred verses by way of exposition. Similarly, his commentary of the last chapter of the Gītā runs into more than 1800 verses based on the meagre 78 of the original. It owes its length to his ovations in praise of his favourite ideals such as his *guru*, Nivrīti, the Bhagavadgītā, the subject of his commentary, the Marathī language, his tool of expres-

6. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

sion, and finally, his audience. These and similar digressions make the *Jnāneśvarī* one of the classics of Marathī literature.”<sup>9</sup>

The *Jnāneśvarī* has been translated into all the major languages of India, including Sanskrit and modern Marathi. The text of the *Jnāneśvarī* underwent considerable mutilation as it was copied by different generations of scribes. After three centuries (1584) Ekanātha produced a reliable edition, free of interpolations “with such meticulous care and close study of the various manuscripts available to him that it is still regarded as the standard text”<sup>10</sup>. The vernacularization of the BG is the great contribution of Jnānadeva, who thus influenced deeply the Maharashtrian mind. Though convinced of his own demerit, he said that it is difficult “to decide as to which of the two, the *Gītā* and the *Jnāneśvarī*, has adorned which”<sup>11</sup>.

At the beginning of chapter 10 we read: “Bodily charms embellish the very ornaments and make it hard to say which adorns which, in the same way, the divine utterance in Sanskrit and my Marāthī-verse meet in lovely alliance to illumine and adorn the very soul of the Truth.” Jnānadeva is one of the first to give a detailed description of yoga-postures and of the awakening of Kundalinī (on BG 6.10-15). He elaborates the functioning of the individual *jīva* in the earthly *kshetra* (ch. 13), pointing to the deeper meaning of non-violence and showing the evil consequences in the life of a *grihastha*, deluded by nescience and attachment to sense-objects, instead of striving after unity with the supreme Spirit.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

We quote Jnānadeva's commentary on BG 1.1 :

- v. 85: तरि पुत्रस्नेहे मोहितु।  
 धृतराष्ट्र असे पुसतु।  
 हमणे संजया सांगे मातु।  
 कुरुक्षेत्री ची ॥
- v. 86: जें धर्मालय हमणिजे।  
 तेथ पांडव आणि माझे।  
 गेले असेति व्याजें।  
 जुभांचेनि ॥
- v. 87: तरि तेंचि इतुला अवसरी।  
 काय कीजत आसेल एरयेरी।  
 हे भडकरि कथन करी।  
 मजप्रती।

A critical edition of the first chapter was published as *Jnānadeva* by Ramakrishna Ganeś Harshe, Poona, 1947, 318 pp.

10. TULPULÉ, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 331.



It is not surprising that in the Mahānubhāva literature we should find very early renderings or commentaries of the BG.

Around 1418, Viśvanātha wrote his *Jnānaprabodha*, "containing about 1200 *ovīs*, and which begins as a commentary on the five verses (7-11) from the 13th chapter of the BG... In the commentarial portion Viśvanātha is under the influence of the exemplary exposition of the Gītā though it belonged to an alien school."<sup>12</sup>

In the *Sanketagitā* of Nrisimha (15th c.) we find a list of earlier commentaries on the Gītā which apparently have not yet come to light. Besides, in the Mahānubhāva School the BG has been a favourite theme of commentators

"because of a saying of Cakradhara (the founder) claiming only the Gītā as the word of Śrīkrishna and leaving the rest (of the Mahābhārata) to Vyāsa. This has resulted in the production of about fifteen works on the Gītā, only one of which has been published in full so far, viz. the *Gopāladāsī* (early 17th century) of Gopālamuni Daryāpūrkar."<sup>13</sup>

The prolific writer Dāsopanta (1551-1615) beats all records in the amount of literature he produced. His *Gītārṇava* ('Ocean of the BG') is a "versified commentary containing more than a hundred thousand *ovīs*"; only small sections of this work have so far been published. A comparison with the *Jnāneśvarī* reveals that "where Jnānadeva writes five *ovīs* by way of commentary on the Gītā, Dāsopanta writes about 1300 "<sup>14</sup>.

We have also a commentary on the BG, called *Camatkārī tīkā*, written by Rāmavallabhadāsa (1588-1648) and one called *Citsadānandalaharī*, by Ranganātha (1608) of the *Ānanda sampradāya*. In the same school, Rangabodha composed his *Rangabodhinī* in 1625.

Again in the Mahānubhāva School, Śārangadhara Pusadekar is the author of a prose commentary on the BG, called *Kaivalyadīpikā* (end 17th c.) whereas Gopībhāskara (1593-1678) is the author of a "number of works including *Gītā-tīkā* (1650) which mentions some other commentaries on the Gītā of the past "<sup>15</sup>.

The first Muslim Marathi author, Hussein Ambarkhān (1603-?) also produced a Marathi rendering of the BG, based "according to him on the commentaries of Śankara and Śrīdhara "<sup>16</sup>.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 360; see below Mar. 48.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 372, n. 334.

16. *Ibi* p. 377.

The *Yathārthadīpikā* of Vāmana Pandit (1618-95) is a commentary on the BG of about 22,000 verses in the *ovī* metre<sup>17</sup>.

Finally we may mention the *Gītācandrikā* (ca. 1682) of Śivarāma, composed almost in the words of Jnānadeva.

The English Jesuit missionary Thomas Stevens (Stephens) brought to the notice of the West the richness of the Marathi language. He arrived in Goa in 1579 and wrote a grammar of the Lingua Bramana Canarina (viz. Marathi), published after his death in 1640. He also composed a *Kristāna Purāna*, using the *ovī* metre (of the Jnāneśvarī !) and the Konkani form of Marathi then current among the Christians<sup>18</sup>.

After the Marāthā Confederacy had yielded to the British, *pandits* from Poona were invited to join the translation board of Fort William, Calcutta. The first biblical work was translated in 1805 and the first complete Marathi Bible appeared in 1811. W. Ward's list of 1818 refers to a 'Marhatta' translation of the BG by a Ramu-Dasu.

The national hero B. G. Lokamānya Tilak (1856-1920) produced his famous translation and specific interpretation of the BG in the Mandalaburma jail in 1911-12. This *Srīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā-rahasya* or *Karma-yoga-śāstra* became a prototype for many Indian commentaries, with its preface, introduction of more than 500 pages, critical and comparative analysis, the original Sanskrit text, translation, commentary, list of *ślokas*, references and subject-index<sup>19</sup>.

Three months after the first edition in June 1915, a second edition appeared and within a decade the spirit of *karma-yoga* of Tilak was transferred to 6 other languages. An English translation by B. S. Sukthankar appeared in 1935-36.

Of a different kind is the *Gītāi* (1939): the translation by Vinoba Bhave (b. 1895) who started his career as a multi-linguist — he had a good knowledge of about 18 Indian and European languages — and a well-versed Sanskrit scholar. This life-long *brahmacārī* specifies his interest in Sanskrit as follows:

17. See *ibid.*, pp. 403-404.

18. D. FERROLI, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore Press, Bangalore, 1939, vol. 1, p. 451.

19. We quote BG 1.1 from Tilak's translation :

“संजया ! कुरुक्षेत्राच्या पुण्यभूमीत एकत्र जमलेल्यां मामया आणि पांडूच्या युद्धेच्छु पुत्रांनीं काय केलें ?”



“I have read a lot of Sanskrit. But I have not yet read *Shakuntala*. The ‘speech of God’ is for freedom, *moksha*; not for intellectual delight and luxury. I learnt Sanskrit not to read *Shakuntala* but to learn the Gita, the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Brahmasutras, for things that make for freedom of the soul, and not for poetry and literature.”<sup>20</sup>

Under the influence of Gāndhī, this ascetic scholar grew into an apostle of *sarvodaya*. A hundred thousand copies of his *Gītāi* in Marathi were sold within two decades. His “Talks on the Gītā”, called *Gītā Pravacana*, had soon five editions. It was translated into Hindi, Oriya, Sindhi, Kannada, Urdu, English, German, etc.

#### List of Marathi translations:

In Poddar’s *Gītā sūci* (1930), only 76 items in Marathi are listed, including commentaries and articles on the Gītā. The amount is much more impressive now, as appears from the following list of about 132 translations (including, however, several editions or re-translations of the Jñānesvarī paraphrase).

20. Quoted in *Acharya Vinoba Bhave*, Publ. Div., Govt. of India, 1955, p. 37.

We quote two verses from Vinoba’s translation (1932; 1973) :

BG 1.1: त्या पवित्र कुरुक्षेत्री पांडूचे आणि आमुचे  
युद्धाचे जमले तेव्हा वतले काय संजया ?

BG 2.47: कर्मांत चि तुम्हा भाग तो फलांत नसो कधी,  
नको कर्म-फली हेतु अकर्म वासना नको ।

For a comparison, we refer to two other translations : One in āryametre by ATHAVALÉ (1956),

BG 1.1: धर्मक्षेत्र असे जें श्रेष्ठ कुरुक्षेत्र, तेथ जे जमले  
कौरव पांडव युद्धोत्सुक करिते काय संजया भाले ?

BG 2.47: कर्माचा फक्त तुला अधिकार असे, नसे फलाचा रे;  
कर्मफली हेतु नको संग नको जें अकर्म त्याचा रे ।

The other in prose by NĀNALA (1972); it is noteworthy that *dharma-kshetre* is rendered as *jainakshetre* (see below 5.4) :

BG 1.1: संजया ! यज्ञ क्षेत्रामधील कुरुक्षेत्रामध्ये एकत्र जमलेले व युद्धाला उत्सुक असलेले माझे  
(पुत्र- कौरव) व पांडव यांनी काय केले?

BG 2.47: तुम्ही कक्षा फक्त कार्यापुरतीच आहे। तुम्हा अधिकार उत्पादनाचा मोबदला, लाभ, नफा-  
नुकसान यावर नाही। कार्यापासून लाभ-नफा मिलविण्याची तुम्ही अट वा इच्छा नसावी।  
कार्यापासून होणारे कर्तव्यकर्म चुकविण्यातही तुला गोडी नसावी।

1. an., BG, (translations and commentaries in manuscript); e.g. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Nos. 672, 689); Govt. Sanskrit College, Varanasi (at least 15 entries); *Padabodhinī/Padacandrikā*, Mss., University of Bombay, Skt. Mss., No. 1320; *MBh*, (in *bakhar* style), Ms., published by Ganeśa Vishnu Cipalunkara, Poona, n.d.
2. an., *Gītārthabodhinī*, (Jnānadarpa Press), Bombay, 1852.
3. an., *Gītārthabodhinī hmanaje mūla Gītevara samaśloka*, (*āryā, doharā, obī, āni abhanga aśā panca prakāracā tikā āheta*), (Ganapata Krishnaji Press), Bombay, 1870; (Jagadīśvara Press), Bombay, 1877.
4. an., *Gītārthabodhinī*, (text with Marathi commentaries, *samaślokī, āryā, dohā, ovī, abhanga*), (Jagadhitecchu Press), Poona, 1871.
5. an., BG, *bhāshā nivritti*, (commentary used by Tilak), 1872 ?
6. an., *Śrī pada-bodhinī tikā sameta Gītā*, (Jagadīśvara Press), Bombay, 1874.
7. an., *Pada-bodhinī Gītā hmanaje Mūla-gītemtila sarvaslokāmeya pratyeka padāmci mahārāshtra bhāsemta vyākhyā*, (Ganapata Krishnaji Press), Bombay, 1874.
8. an., *Upadeśāmritaghatī SBG anuvāda*, Bombay, 1884.
9. an., *Sa-Marāthī bhāshārtha BG mātmya*, *Vishnusahasranāma, Bhīshma-stava-rāja, Anusmriti, Gajendra-mokshana (panca-ratna) BG*, (Jagadhitecchu Press), Poona, 1905.
10. an., *Gītā-panca-ratna mahārāshtri bhāshāntara saha ānī itara dhārmika prakarane*, 1914.
- 10a. an., *Subodha Gītā*, (Sastum Sāhitya V.K.), Ahmedabad, ca. 1923.
11. an., *Sa-Marāthī-bhāshārtha SBG ānī Rāma-gītā*, (Jagadhitecchu Press), Poona 1925-26.
- an., BG, (Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, ca. 1938.
12. an., (The Gītā Pictorial) in Amar Chitra Kathā Series, 1970; see Hin. 19.
13. ĀMBEKARA, S. B., *Mātmya-sāra nityapātha*, (with Vinoba's parallel tr.), Poona, 1963.
14. ĀP(A)TE, Dattātreyā Ananta, BG, (verse tr.), Poona, 1914; 1924, or *Mahārāshtra BG*, (in *sārdū lavikrīdita* metre), (A. C. Bhat), Poona, 1914.
15. ĀPTE, Dattātreyā A., *Jhompālyā varcī gītā*, (in *ovī* metre, "to be sung by women on a swing"), (Citrasālā Press), Poona, 1928 (3rd).
16. ĀPTE, Vāsudeva Govinda, *Jnānadīpa athavā subodha gadyarūpa Jnāneśvari-sāra*, (G. B. Joshi), Poona, 1928; also *Bāla-bhārata*, (Joshi), Poona, n.d.
- 17-19. ATHALYE, Krishnaji Nārāyana, *Āryābaddha SBG*, (in *āryā* metre), (Kerala Kokil Grantha Prasārakā Mandalī), Bombay, 1908. Also *Gītāpadyamuktāhāra*, (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1884; *Sārtha va satīpa Jnāneśvari*, (original *ovī* verses, with prose tr.), J. M. Gurjar, Bombay, 1902 (end); also with *tikā-tippaṇī*, "mahārāshtra-bhāshā-citra mayūra", (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1910 (3rd, enlarged).
20. ĀTHAVALE, Vāmana Śāṅkara, *Āryāgītā*, (in *āryā* metre), (Continental Prakāśana), Poona, 1956.
- 21-22. BĀPATA, Vishnu Vāmana, Śāstri, *Sānvayārtha bālabodhinī SBG*, (G. V. Ciplūṅkar ānī mandalī), Poona, 1921, 656 pp. Also *SBG-bhāshyārtha*, (with Śāṅkara's com., in refutation of Tilak), Poona, 1921; *Śāṅkara bhāshyānusāra subodha BG*, Ācāryakula, Poona, 1922.



- Also *S.MBh*, 13 vols., (Bhārata Gaurava Granthamālā), Bombay, 1928-37.
23. BĀPATA, T. Ganeśa, *Śrī MBh-kathā*, (Continental Publ.), Poona, 1968 (2nd).
  24. BHĀGAVATA, Rājarāma Rāmakrishna, *Sātha ślokī SBG-sārtha*, (Ābāji Rāmcandra Sāvanta), Belgaum, 1908.
  25. BHĀLERĀVA, D. G., *SBG bhāshā-vyākhyā sametā*, (ch. 15), (Bāla-vasanta Press), Amalner, 1928.
  26. BHĀNU, Cintāmana Gangādhara, *SBG*, (with Śankara's com.), 3 vols., (Yaśavanta Press), Poona, 1898-1903; 4 vols., 1909-10.
  27. BHĀNU, C. G., *BG*, (*upasamhāra*), Poona, 1905.
  28. BHĀRADWĀJA, *BG*, (*ce racanāntara*), (Bhalerao Press), Poona, 1933.
  29. BHĀVE, Śivāji Narahara, *Jnāneśvarī śabdārthakośa*, (Grāma Sevā Mandala), Wardha, 1951.
  - 30-31. BHĀVE, Vinobā, Vināyaka Narahara, *Gītāi*, (samaślokī verse tr.), 1932; 1955 (21st ed.); or *Gītāi-cintanikā*, (Paramdhāma Park.), Pavanāra-Wardha, 1973. See above No. 13; Kash. 2; Guj. 23; Skt. Com. 21a. Also *Gītāi Śabdārtha kośa*, Concordance, (Grāma Seva Mandala), Wardha, 1950; with *Gītāi* tr. and glossary, 1952.
  32. BHĀVE, Viśvanātha Sakhārāma, *Jnāneśvarī-artha-candrikā*, Bombay, 1895.
  33. BHIDE, Bālakrishna Ananta, *Sārtha Śrījnāneśvarī*, with prose tr. and metrical tr. by Vāmana, Moropanta, and Mukteśvara, K. B. Dhavle, Bombay, 1935 (2nd); XXIV, 887 pp.
  34. BHIDE, C., *SBG Pāthavritti*, (G. V. Ketkar), Poona, 1956 (2nd).
  - 35-36. BHIDE, Sadāśiva Śāstrī, *Sa-marāthī-bhāshārtha SBG*, (Vaibhava Press), Bombay, 1928. Also *Rahasyadīpikā*, Poona, 1923.
  - BHOSEKARA, L. P., see PĀTANAKARA, K. J.
  37. BRAHMACĀRĪ, Vishnu Bābā, *BG*, (com.), 1889.
  38. CAITANYA, Māyānanda, *BG*, (verse tr.), Gwalior, 1925.
  39. CĀPHEKARA, Vyankateśa Tryambaka, *Jnāneśvarī sa-tīpā*, (Citra-śālā Press), Poona, 1924.
  - 39a. CHITAMBER, *SB Gīteca abhyāsa*, Ahmednagar, 1972.
  40. CINCĀLAKARA, P. G., *BG-rahasya-nirikshana*, (on Tilak's com.), Amalner, 1917.
  41. CITRE, Paraśurāma Dinakara, *Sārtha va satīpā BG*, (selections with com.), Palghar, 1928.
  42. DĀNDEKAR, Gopāla Nilakantha, *Bhāvārtha Jnāneśvarī*, 1963.
  - 43-44. DĀNDEKARA, Śankara Vāmana, *SBG*, (Yaśavanta Publ.), Poona, 1956. Also (together with Māmā Saheb DĀNDEKARA) *Sārtha jnāneśvarī*, (with prose tr. and dictionary of difficult words), (Prasāda Prak.), Poona, 1953, CLVIII, 1039 pp.; (Pratibhā Press), Poona, 1958; (Svānanda Pr.), Poona, 1973; also *BG*, *Śrījnāneśvarī adhyāya bārava*, (Venus Prakāśan), Poona, 1965 (2nd).
  45. DĀNDEKARA, Sonopanta, *Gītecyā Ślokāmvarīla Pravacanem*, (Jnānavilāsa Press), Poona, n.d., 3 vols.
  46. DASANŪRAKARA, D. G., *Āpale MBh*, (abridged), 5 vols., Kolhapur.
  47. DĀSA, Rāmavallabha, *BG camatkārī tīkā*, (ed. by Śrīkrishnadāsa S. G. Ubhayakara; Ramatatva-prakash Pr. Pr.), Belgaum, 1925.
  48. DASOPANTA, *Gītārthabodhacandrikā*, edited by Bhagavanta Deśa-mukha, (Marāthavadā Sāhitya Parishat), Aurangabad, 1962. Also a gigantic *Gītārṇava* com.

49. DESĀĪ, Nārāyana Govinda, *Gītā-tattva-viveka*, (Sudhā V. Phadake), 2 vols., Pune, 1979.
- , DEŚAMUKHA, B., see DASOPANTA.
- 49a. DEŚAMUKHA, Narahara Bālakrishna, *Śrī Jñāneśvara darśana*, 2 vols., Ahmednagar, 1943.
50. DEŚAPĀNDE, Śāmarāva Vināyaka, *Subodhagītā*, (M. Marathi Granthas), Bombay, 1967.
51. DHAVANA, Jagannātha Ganapata, *Gītāntīla nityapātha athavā gītā-sāra*, (Vaiśya Vidyāśrama Granthamālā; Vaibhava Press), Bombay, 1927.
- 52-53. DRAVĪDA, Balavanta Tryambaka, *SBG athavā Śrī-krishnācā upadeśa*, (Yaśavanta Press), Poona, 1916 (5th). Also *MBh-amrita*, 3 vols., Poona, 1903-9.
54. EKANĀTHA, (worked at rev. *Jñāneśvarī*), ca. 1590; see above, p. 200.
55. GARDE, Bābā (or Krishna, Khando), *Gītāmṛita Śatapadā*, (abridged tr. in 100 verses), 1902.
56. GODABOLE, Raghunātha Bhāskara, *Jñāneśvarī paribhāshā*, (glossary), (Jagadhitecchu Press), Poona, 1978.
57. GODABOLE, Śrinivāsa Bhāskara, *Sankshipta Gītā*, (Samskar Mandal), Baroda, 1965.
58. GOKHALE, V. B., *Setubandhanī tīkā-prākṛita*, Bombay, 1890.
59. GONDHALEKARA, Rāvaji S., *MBh-sāra*, (Jagadhitecchu Press), Poona, 1873-74.
60. GOVINDA, *Tātparya-darśinī*, (with *Śrī-krishna-bodhāmṛita athavā sa-mahārāshtrī-bhāshārtha SBG*), (Sudhāraka Printing Press), Poona, 1916.
61. GUNĀJĪ, Nāgeśa Vāsudeva, *Sārtha SBG*, (K. B. Dhavale), Bombay, (1929); 1966 (8th).
62. HARSHE, Rāmakrishna Ganeśa, ed., *Jñānadevī: SBG vyākhyāna*, (*cikitsaka va bhāshāśāstriya āvritti*, crit. ed. of 1st chapt.), Poona, 1947.
63. HUPARĪKAR, Bālaśāstri, *SBG athavā Jñānayogaśāstra*, (refuting Tilak's com.), (Śankarācārya Matha), Kolhapur, n.d.
64. JĀMKHEDKAR, Balavanta Vināyaka, *SBG-āryavṛitta*, Nasik, 1963.
65. JANĀRDANA, BG, Ms., (Oriental Inst.), Baroda.
66. JAYARĀMA-SUTA, *Gītāpushpa*, (versified epitome in 225 ślokas), Ms.
67. JNĀNEŚVARA (also called JNĀNADEVA), *Jñāneśvarī*, (or *Bhā-vārtha Dīpikā*), ca. 1290, (other names: *Gītāsāri Sarvagītārthasangraha*, *Jñāneśvarī Paribhāshā*, *Jñāneśvarī Padavyākhyā Prakāśikā*); frequently edited: e.g. SOHANĪ, N. R., *Jñāneśvarī Subodhinī chaye sahita*, (text with Marathi com.), (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, (1890), 1916; see above, p. 99; Mar. 16, 19, 29, 32, 33, 39, 42, 44, 49a, 54, 56, 62, 69, 70, 73, 79, 94, 103, 109, 113, 128, 129; Hin. 23, 39, 60, 129, 173, 271; Braj. (p. 166), 30; Ben. 127, 207; Guj. 60; Tel. 44, 72, 113; Tam. 50; Eng. 53, 181, 238; Skt. com. 216.
- 68-69. JOŚĪ, Mahādeva Śāstri, *Navanīta Bhārata*, (MBh selections), (M. Jagannath), Poona, 1953. Also *Jñāneśvarī praveśikā*, (Mangal Sāhitya Prak.), Poona, 1947.
70. JOŚĪ, Yaśavanta Gopāla, *Subodha Jñāneśvarī*, (Viśvakarma Pr.), Poona, 1964 (2nd).
71. KĀNE, Śivarāma Bhāskara, *Gītārthamanjarī*, (prose tr.), Ratnagiri, 1868.
72. KARANDĪKARA, J. S., *Gītātattvamanjarī*, Poona, 1953 (2nd).



- KARANDĪKARA, V. R., *BGītece tīna tīkākāra*, (with com. of Jñāneśvara, Vāmana and Tilak), (Kesari Prak.), Pune, 1974; also Vāmana's com. separately, Poona, 1963.
73. KELKARA, Narasimha Cintāmana, *Jñāneśvarī sarvasya* (quintessence with prose tr. and com.), (Manohar Granthamālā), Poona, 1946. Also a *Gāvrāna gītā*, (simple exposition in the form of a dialogue between the author and a villager named "Genū"), Poona, 1944.
74. KELUSAKARA, Krishnarāma Arjuna, *BG*, (with com.), Bombay, 1902; also *Sānvaya-sārtha-satīkā SBG*, (with parallel tr. of Vāmana, Moropanta, Mukteśvara, Tukārāma and Uddhavacidghana), (Damo-dar S.), Bombay, 1930 (2nd).
75. KHĀDILAKARA, Pānduranga Dattātraya, *Gītārthasudhākara*, Bom-bay, 1960.
76. KHAPARDE, B. G., *BG-antaranga*, with tr. of A. Besant's *Hints on the Study of the BG*, (Marathi Theosophical Federation), 1956.
77. KHEDAKARA, B. V. Jāma, *BG*, (metric tr.), Nasik, 1963.
- KIRĀNE, T. G., see PATKĪ, G. G.
78. KOLHATAKARA, Y. V., *Gītādharmā athavā rahasya-khandana*, (against Tilak's com.), (Āryabhūshana Press), Poona, 1916.
- KRISHNA, Khando, see GARDE.
79. KRISHNĀNANDA, *Jñāneśvarī mārgadava śikāśūcī*, (Āryabhūshana Press), Poona, 1943.
80. KULAKARNI, S. D., *Sarvasangrāhaka Gītā*, (tr. and com.), Poona, 1957.
81. LELE, Kāśinātha Vāmana, *SBG marāthī-bhāshāntara saha*, (Śrīkrishna Press), Wai, 1911; also with Śankara's com.; Bombay, (1911); 1913.
82. MĀDHAVA (DĀSA) SVĀMĪ, *MBh*, Ms., (Orient. Inst., Baroda); also *Bhīshmaparvan*, Ms., composed ca. 1705. The "Bharata" has been completed by Mādhava-Suta or Mādhavātmaajā.
83. MAHĀJANA, Mādhava Gangādhara, *Kurukshetra*, (prose tr.), Bombay, 1964.
- 84-85. MAHĀRĀJA, Achuta Śrī Santa, *SBG-bhāvārtha darpana*, (verse tr.), (Dharmagrantha Prakāśan Mandal), Kaundanyapur, 1966. Also *MBh ovibaddha prākṛitabhāvārtha-tīkā*, (Dharmagrantha Prakāśan Mandal), Kaundanyapur, 1965.
86. MAHĀRĀJA, Sadgurulāla (Krishnalālaji), *SBG bhajana-saptaśatī*, (in form of *bhajan*s), (Lakshmi Electro-Machine Press), Baroda, 1928.
87. MAHĀRĀJA, Sadguru Pūrnānanda Śivarāma, *BG-candrikā*, (ed. Mādhava G. Bhide; Śrī Hanumāna Press), Poona, 1924.
88. MAHĪPATI, *Pancarātna*, (BG, first entry), Poona, 1868.
89. MARĀTHE, Ananta Vāsudeva, *BG*, (prose tr.), Bombay, 1946.
90. MARĀTHE, Moro Sadāśiva, *Gītāgītā*, (summary in *ovī* metre for the instruction of women), Bombay, 1904.
91. MAYŪRA (MOROPANTA Mayūrapanta or Moropandita), *Moro-pantī BG*, (metrical tr.), ca. 1750; ed. Bombay, 1864; 1913. . .; also *Āryābhārata*; found e.g. in Ms. of BG with *tīkā*s of Vāmana, Tulasi-dāsa, Mukteśvara, and Tukārāma, (Orient. Inst., Baroda); see above, Mar. 33, 74.
92. MIRAJAKARA, Kavi Mukunda Ganeśa, *Śrī sama-ślokī Marāthī gītā*, (Śrī Ganeśa Pr. Wks.), Poona, 1926.
93. MODAKA, Rāmacandra Śāstrī, *Bhāvacandrikā*, Bombay, 1851.
94. MOGHE, Govinda Rāmacandra, *Jñāneśvarī*, (condensed modern version),

- MOROPANTA, see MAYŪRA.
- 95-96. MUKTEŚVARA, *MBh*, (poetic version), beginning 17th cent.; ed. with notes by Vāman Dājī Oka, (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1893-99; see above, Mar. 33, 74. Also *BG*, ed. with versions of Vāmana, Tulasīdāsa, e.a. Bombay, 1861; also in *Gītārtha-bodhinī*, *BG va Tijavaracyā Vāmana-pandita, Moropanta va Mukteśvara yā kavimcyā marāthī-tīkā*, (Suvarna Print. Press), Bombay, 1913.
97. NĀMĀ, Vishnudāsa, *Bharata*, Ms.; see above, p. 198.
98. NĀNALA, N. D., *SBG*, (with com. *Brahmavidyecā sāmājika vya-vahāra*) (Moghe Prak.), Kolhapur, 1972.
99. PĀDHYE, Ananta Govinda, *Gītāprakāśa*, (metrical tr.), (Laxmibai Pandhye), Poona, 1967.
- PADMANĀBHA, Bālakrishnanātha Mahārāja, *MBh*, (extracts), Ms.
100. PAĪKĪ, Gangādhara Gopāla and KIRĀNE, Triyambake Govinda, *Pada bodhinigītā*, (literal tr.), Bombay, 1874 (2nd).
101. PĀLAMDE. . ., Bhāskara Dāmodara, *Gītā-sudha, hī gītevara prākṛita marāthī sākīchando baddha samaślokī*, (Indu Prakāśa Press), Bombay, 1873.
102. PANDITA, Mathurā, *Gītākūjana*, (metrical tr.), Bombay, 1951.
103. PANDITA, Rāmacandra Siddheśvara, *Bhāvārtha bodhinī*, (com. in *abhangā* metre), ca. 1820.
104. PANGU, Dattātraya Sitārāma, *Jnāneśvari*, (critically edited and explained), (School & College Bookstall), Kolhapur, 1951.
105. PARVATE, Raghunātha Śāstrī, *Gītāsubodhinī*, (prose com.), Poona, 1860; also *SBG bhāshā-vivṛita (dīpa) sahita*, Poona, 1887; (orig. ca. 1675).
106. PĀTANAKARA, Keśava Janārdana and BHOSEKARA, Lakshmana Pānduranga, *BG*, ch. 7; *śloka, pada, anvaya ānī ārtha*, (Law Printing Press), Poona, 1915.
- PĀTHAKA, Narahara Raghunātha, *Śrīmān MBh āche surasa bhāshāntara*, (Surekhā Prakāśan), Bombay, 1967.
107. PĀTĪL, Balvanta Rāva, *Gītā Madhu*, (double tr. in two kinds of metre, with an abridged *MBh*), 1906.
108. PĀTĪLA, Moro Nānājī, *Gītā subhāshitam or Wise Words from the Gita*, (sel.), (Manoranjana Press), Bombay, 1927; 1935.
109. PENDSE, Śankara Dāmodara, *Jnāneśvarāncē Tattvajnāna*, (K. B. Dhavle), Bombay, 1941.
110. RAMU-DASU, *BG*, (ref. in W. Ward, 1818).
111. RĀNĀDE, R. D., Gurudeva, *Dhyāna Gītā*, see Eng. 86.
112. RĀŚIVADEKARA, Āppāsāstrī, e.a., *MBh*, 9 vols., Poona, 1904.
113. SĀKHARE, S. N. Jośī and SĀKHARE, Cīranjīva V. N. Jośī, *Sārtha Jnāneśvari BG*, (Indirā Press), Poona, 1910; see Hin. 60.
114. ŚANKARA, Rāma, *Munīvilāsa*; poetical account of the life of Madhvanātha, with an exposition of the *BG* to him by Śuka Yogeśvara; Ms., copied 1781.
- ŚĀSTRĪ, Raghunātha, see PARVATE.
- ŚĀSTRĪ, see BĀPATA, Vishnu Vāmana.
115. SĀTAVALEKARA, Śrīpāda Dāmodara, *BG*, ca. 1910.
116. ŚRĪDHARA, Pāndava-pratāpa, (abridged *MBh* in *ovī* metre), Ms., ca. 1713; English version publ. by Dubhashi & Co., Bombay, 1892.

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117. ŚROTRIYA, Viśvanātha Kṛṣṇa, *Mulāncī gītā*, (for children), (Shrotriya Prakashan), Poona, 1971.
118. SVĀMĪ, Kāśinātha, *SBG jīvanamukti tīkā*, (with tr. in different metrical forms), ed. by A. N. Nādakarnī, (Karnataka Press), Bombay, 1887.
119. TAPAMĀLĪ, Śeṣharāva Ganapatarāva, "Śrīdāsa", *SBG bhāvārtha-prakāśinī tīkā*, (Satsanga Press), Anjangaon, 1923.
120. TILAK, Lokamānya Bāla, G., *SBG Rahasya, Karmayogaśāstra*, Poona, 1915 (June, Sept. . .), 1973 (10th); see above, Mar. 5, 22, 40, 63, 78; Hin. 63, 198, (253); Urdu 15; Sin. 19; Ben. 246; Ori. 42; Tam. 70; Kan. 77; Mal. 24.
121. TUKĀ-DĀSA, disciple of Pānduranga-dāsa, *BG*, Ms.
122. TUKĀRĀMA, *SBGiteca abhangātmaka anuvāda*, (V. S. Bendre), Poona, 1950; see above, Mar. 74.
- 122a. UDDHAVACIDGHANA, see Mar. 74.
123. VAIDYA, Bālakṛṣṇa Dinakara, *BG*, (com.), 1904.
124. VAIDYA, R. B. Cintāmani Vināyaka, *SBG, karma-yogī sarala marāthī rūpāntara*, (Dattātreyā Pr. Pr.), Bombay-Poona (1914), 1927; 1929; see also *Sārtha satīpa MBh*, 8 vols., Bombay, 1931-37 (earlier a *MBh-upasamhāra*, see Hin. 198).
125. VAIDYA, Sadāśiva Viśvanātha, *SBG, śloka, pada, anvaya āni artha*, (Law Printing Press), Poona, 1914.
126. VĀMANA, Pandita, (Pārthasārathi), *Gītārnavasudhā* or *Sama-ślokī gītā*, (literal verse tr.), ca. 1665; (ed. Ratnagiri, 1862; Nasik, 1878. . .); see above, Mar. 33; also *Yathārtha dīpikā*, (com.), ed. 1892; (with notes, by Vāmana Dāji Oka, e.a., Bombay, 1903-7); see above, p. 94; see Mar. 74.
127. VĀMANĀŚRAMA, *BG*, (Ms. No. 17,287, Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares).
128. VANKATASVĀMĪ, H. B., *Sārtha Jnāneśvarī, kathina śabdāncā kośa, ovyāncī sūcī va sārtha-gītāyām saha*, (Śrī Ganeśa Pr. Wks.), Poona, 1927.
129. VARNEKARA, Śrīdhara Bhāskara, *Subodha Jnāneśvarī*, (in modern Marathi, in *ovī* verse), (Yogābhyāsa Mandal), Poona, 1975.
130. VIJNĀNĀNANDA, Svāmī, *Gītā-sāmya-Vijnāna*, (com.), (New Way Ashram), Lonavala, 1971, 838 pp.
- VINOBĀ, see BHAVE.
131. YATI, Brahmendra, *BG satīkā*, Ms.
- YOGEŚVARA, Śuka, see ŚANKARA, Rāma.

#### 4.24. Translations into Konkani

According to Mallaya<sup>1</sup>, Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi; rather, both Marathi and Konkani are derived from a common Maharashtra Prakrit. Konkani-Marathi is spoken in north-eastern Maharashtra and

1. N. P. MALLAYA, 'Konkani Language and its Place among the modern Indian Languages', in *Commemoration Volume, Cochin Synagogue*, (Kerala History Association), Cochin, 1968, pp. 187-203.

The author refers to a Konkani Mahābhārata, attributed to Krishnadāsa Shama, a poet from Saxty in Goa,

in western Madhya Pradesh. There is also a related Konkani spoken in Goa, with further varieties in Karnataka. The Goan Konkani is written in either Devanāgarī, Kannada or Roman script.

#### List of Konkani translations:

1. BOKRARA, Bakibaba, B., *BG*, (in Devanāgarī), Goa, n.d.
2. KĀMATA, B., Nāfāyana, *Gītāmritasākī*, (in Devanāgarī), Mangalore, n.d.
3. SHAMA, Krishnadasa, *MBh*, see p. 209, n. 1.
4. VALAVALKAR, A. J., *Kudāli Mahārathi BG*, (Konkan Marathi Dialects Research Institute), Bombay, 1962.

#### 4.25. Translations into Sinhala

Sinhala is the southernmost Indo-Aryan language of our survey, spoken by ca. 10 million people, mainly in Śrī Lankā (former Ceylon where the Portuguese arrived for the first time in 1505). The script is derived from the ancient Grantha script. The first Sinhala translation of the Gospels was printed in 1739.

Only one translation of the BG came to our notice: Rev. B. SIRI SEEVALI THERO, *BG* (text, meaning, prose order and translation; Foreword by B. M. Barua and recommendation by S. Radhakrishnan), Colombo, 1956; Morutuwa, 1956. There is also an abridged translation by Sanghadeva PERERA, of which no further details could be found.

An early Buddhist adaptation of the MBh, *Mahāpadaranga-jātaka* was edited by D. R. Seneviratna, 1929.

#### 4.26. Translations into Telugu

Numerically, Telugu is classified third after Hindi and Bengali, with 45 million speakers. We classify it before Tamil because of its huge number of translations of the BG.

The earliest traces of this Dravidian language are dated in the 7th century, although its literature emerges only in the 11th. Some of the earliest translations of the Mahābhārata were made into Telugu, when Nannaya Bhatta, the first Telugu poet (11th c.) adapted two and a half *parvas* of the MBh. After two centuries the work was completed (from *Virātaparva* to the end, epitomizing the BG in less than 50 verses) by Tikkana-yajvī (1220-1300), while a few portions were added one hundred years later by Erra Pragada<sup>1</sup>. Venkatavadhani writes about the three pioneers:

1. See S. K. BELVALKAR, *The BG*, crit. ed., Editorial Note, p. xiii; see below, Tel. 129, 130.

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4. *Ibid.*  
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“Their method of translation is very peculiar. They followed the story very closely but introduced several changes not only by way of additions and omissions but also by innovations for the sake of propriety. They added original descriptions where they felt the necessity, curtailed the long philosophical and didactic discourses that are abundant in the original, and transformed the Itihāsa into a beautiful Kāvya. On account of this the Telugu Bhārata appears more as an original Kāvya than as a mere translation, at the same time bringing home to the readers the essence of the Sanskrit original.”<sup>2</sup>

Tikkana was called “friend of both Sanskrit and Telugu poets”, yet “the percentage of Telugu words he has used in his poetry is much greater than the percentage of Sanskrit words. His use of the Telugu idiom, which he called *janu Telugu* (Telugu in vogue), is a great asset to the Telugus, because through Tikkana they have understood that their language as it is could be made equal to the expression of a great epic.”<sup>3</sup> Tikkana dedicated his translation of the MBh to Lord Hariharanātha, as he “tried to help the masses of the age—an age of bitter strifes and animosities between the Veerasaiva and Veera Vaishnava cults of the Hindu religion—by showing the common man the ideal of a deity, Hariharanatha, who is both Siva and Vishnu at the same time”<sup>4</sup>.

In the early 17th century, western interest in Telugu started with the theologian and linguistic genius Father de Nobili (see below, p. 219). In 1747 B. Schulze published his Latin survey entitled *Conspectus Literaturae Telugiae, Vulgo Warugicae*; in 1812 the translation of the Bible was started<sup>5</sup>.

#### List of Telugu translations:

In Poddar's *Gītā Sūcī* (1930) only 8 items in Telugu are listed, including commentaries and articles on the Gītā. The present list of about 151 translations in Telugu is rightly very impressive, considering that only translations are listed here (in as far as they can be guessed to be different from or included in commentaries).

1. an., BG, (translations and commentaries in manuscript), e.g. India Office Library, London, Acc. No. 6519; Thanjavur, No. 8859; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 609; W. Taylor's Oriental Mss., Madras, Nos. 1010, 1052; Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, No. 2143, etc.

2. K. SANTHANAM, *Anthology of Indian Literature*, 1969, p. 616.

3. S. RAGHAVACHARI in V. Raghavan, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

5. See J. MANGAMMA, *Book Printing in India with special reference to the Contribution of European scholars to Telugu*, (1746-1857), Nellore, 1975.

2. an., *BG* or *The Celebrated Dialogues of Krishna and Arjuna*; Sanskrit and Telugu characters, (The Advertiser Press), Madras, 1842.
3. an., *BG*, (with com.), (Niścintatevaperumāllu), Madras, 1861.
4. an., *BG*, (with com.), Madras, 1880.
5. an., *BG*, (with Śrīdhara's com.), ca. 1900.
6. an., *SBG*, (*Āndhra-tātparya sangrahamu*), (Divine Press), Madras, 1905.
7. an., *BG*, (*Āndhra-tīkā-tātparya sahitamu*), (Ādi-sarasvatī-nilaya Press), Madras, 1907-1910.
8. an., *SBG*, (*Āndhra-tātparya sangrahamu*), (Gopāl-vilāsa Press), Madras, 1908.
9. an., *SBG*, (*Āndhra-tīkā-tātparya sahitamu*), (Ānanda Press), Madras, 1908.
10. an., *SBG*, (*Āndhra-tīkā-tātparya-bhāshya*), with *Trayasārāmśa Bodhinī* and more hymns, (Edward Press), Madras, 1911.
11. an., *BG*, *Śloka-sangraha*, selections, with *Āndhra-bhāshā-tātparyaniyogi-bhāshya*, (Vānī Press), Bezwada, 1924.
12. an., *SBG*, (*Āndhra-tātparya sahitamu*), (Venu-gāna Press), Madras, 1928.
13. an., *Citra bhārata*, (MBh), (Carigonda Dharmanna), Madras, 1934.
14. an., *BG-amritamu*, 1952.
15. an., *SBG*, (with *Śāṅkarabhāshya*), Madras, 1953.
- 15a. an., *SBG*, (Śrīpranavānandāśrama), Guntakal, 1963.
- 15b. an., *Krishnārjunīyam* (Gita-drama), Bombay, 1965.
16. AIYANGAR, Tirumalai, *BG*, (com.), Ms., 19th cent., (Descriptive Catalogue, Madras, 1907).
17. ĀNANDA, Vidyāprakāśa, Girīsvāmī, *Gītāmakarandamu*, Kalahasti, 1964, (1104 pp.); (Sukabrahmāśramamu), Kalahasti, 1969.
18. ANANTABHŪPĀLA, Tupākula, *BG*, (prose tr., from his Telugu *Bhārata*), Ms.
19. APPALASVĀMĪ, Puripandā, *BG*, n.d.
20. APPALASVĀMĪ, P., *Vyāvahārikāndhra MBh*, 7 vols., Rajahmundry, 1960-8.
- 20a. ATHARVANA, Ācārya, (Jain and Telugu grammarian), *Bhīshma-parva*, 15th cent.
21. AYYAVĀRA, Śrīnivāsa Jagannātha Svāmī, *Śrī Gītā*; (with Śāṅkarā-Rāmānuja-Madhva *Bhāshya-traya*, *Āndhra-bhāshā-sāra*, (Arsha Press), Vizagapatam, 1909 (2nd).
22. BĀLARĀMAKRISHNAYYA, D., *Nishkāmayogamu*, tr. of M. Gandhi's *Anāsaktiyoga*, Hindi ed., (Venkatarāma & Co.), Vijayawada, 1930.
23. BALLĀSVĀMĪ, *BG*, (in prose), (M. Caudari), Mandapeta, 1956.
24. BHŪPATI, Sarvajna Kumārayācendra, *Gītārthasārasangrahamu*, Ms.
25. BRAHMASVĀMĪ, Śrīmat-paramahansa Bālasubrahmanya, *BG-rahasyārtha-bodhinī*, (Kalā-ratnākara Press), Madras, 1910.
26. CHAUDARĪ, Tummala Sītārāmamūrti, *Gītādarsamu*, Appikatla, 1963.
27. DATTOJĪ, Panditā, *BG-śāstramu*, (prose and poetry), Ms.
28. DATTOJĪ, Vemuganti, *BG*, (in verse), (K. Subbārāva), Bhimadole, 1926.
- DE GALŪLAKARA, D. Mahārāja, see Hin. 129.
- ERRA PRAGADA, see above, p. 210 and below, No. 129.
29. GANAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, Carla, *Tenugu Gītā*, Nidadavolu, (1952), 1954.



- GIRISVĀMI, see ĀNANDA, Vidyāprakāśa.
30. GOPIĀND, Tripuraneni, *Gītā pārayanam*, 1971 (3rd).
31. GUPTA, Domā Venkatasvāmī, *SBG*, (with com.), (Rama Publ.), Vijayawada, 1956; see also *Śrī MBh*, (in prose), 1932.
32. GUPTA, T. Rāmakrishna Rāo, *Śrī Geethā Ratnamulu*, (selections of the BG with English tr.), (Bhārati-Vilāsa Press), Narasarowpet, 1911.
33. JAGANNĀTHAM, Y., “Bhaktitilaka”, *BG*, (with tr. of Thakur Bhaktivinoda’s Bengali *Śrī Caitanya Śikshāmritam*, the *Rasikaranjana* com. and a subcom. on Viśvanātha Cakravarti’s Sanskrit com. *BG Sārārtha Varshinī*) (1934), 1969; see Ben. 38; Com. 35.
34. JANĀRDHANABHĀNU-MURTI, Naiśadha, *BG*, Senāli, 1971.
35. JOGOMĀMBA, Gauru, *BG viśeshādha candrikā*, 1955.
36. KALYĀNĀNANDA, Bhāratimāntācāryasvāmī, *SBG*, (with *Gītāmrita-taranginī* com.), Tenali, n.d.
37. KALYĀNĀNANDA, B., *SBG-rahasyam*, 1957.
38. KRISHNAMURTI, Kambhampati Rāmagopāla, *SBG*, (Śrī Māruti-rāma Granthamālā), Vijayawada, 1965.
39. KULASEKHARA (KULEŚVARA) (a saint king of Kerala), *BG*, (*Mukunda-mālā*, *dinilo 40 ślokaṃulu*, *vīniki pratipadārthamu*, *Tenugu tātparyamu*), ed. by T. Lakshmanācārya, (Sasilekhā Press), Madras, (1921), 1924.
40. LAKSHMANĀCĀRYA, T., *BG*, (*Āndhra bhāshāntara sameta*), (Sasilekhā Press), Madras, 1912.
41. LAKSHMANĀCĀRYA, T., *BG*, (*Āndhra-tātparya sahitamu*), (Sasilekhā Press), Madras, (1921), 1926; see also Tel. 39.
42. LAKSHMANAMURTI, Piratla, *BG*, Pithapuram, 1970.
43. LAKSHMĪ-NARASIMHAM, Setti, *SBG*, Visakhapatnam, 1936.
44. LALITĀDEVĪ, J., *Āndhra Jnāneśvarī-sāramu*, (Bhāratiya Sāmskritikā Vidyāpīṭham), Hyderabad, 1953.
45. MĀDHAVA (KAVI), *BG-bhāshyam*, Ms.
46. MAHARSHĪ, Satyānanda, *SBG-amrita-taranginī*, 9 vols., (Śrī Satyānandāśramamu), Jnamadugu, 1968.
47. MAHARSHĪ, Satyānanda, *BG*, Vijayanagar, 1965.
48. MUNDALI, V. Bālakrishna, *SBG vacanāmu*, (question and answer), (Rājarājeśvar Niketana Press), Madras, 1912.
- 48a. MŪRTI, R. Sūryanārāyana, *SBG*, (T.T.D.), Tirupati, 1980.
- 48b. MŪRTI, Śrīrāmanarasimha, *Tetagitā BG* (with *Pūrvagitā* and *Anugitā*), Toleru, 1958.
49. NĀGANĀRYA, Nāru, *SBG Śrī gītā sugītā*, (Sri Kailasāramamu), Upanishadvihāra, 1970.
- 49a. NĀGEŚVARARĀVA, Kāśināthuni, *SBG*, (with com.), (Āndhra Patrikā Press), Madras, 1962.
- NANNAYA BHATTA, (11th cent.), see above, p. 210 and below, Tel. 129.
50. NARASIMHA-RĀV, Kākāni, *BG*, (verse), (Madhurkavi Prachauran-  
alu), Gudivada, 1965.
51. NARASIMHĀ-RĀVU, Akkenā Pragada, *BG*, (prose), Guntur, 1950.
52. NĀRĀYANA-DĀSU, A. Adibhatta, *BG velpumāta*, (Vedavyāsa Press), Vijayawada, 1929.
53. NĀRĀYANA, Kalupuru Venkata, *BG*, 1968.
54. NĀYANI (NAYUDU), Kokā Venkata Rāmānujulu, *SBG garbhita bhāvabodhinī*, 3 vols., (Dowden & Co.), Madras, 1907; Rajahmundry, 1959.

55. NIRVIKALPĀNANDA, BG, (with Śrīdhari), (Ramakrishnamath), Madras, 1958. Also SBG, Mylapore, 1966.
56. PĀRTHASĀRATHĪ, Sishtla, BG, Hyderabad, n.d.
57. PATTANĀYAK, Sadaśivuni Krishnacandra, Gītāsāramu, Madras, 1967.
58. PINAVĪRABHADRU, Pillalamarri, Jaimini Bhāratamu, (15th century), (V. R. Śastrulu & Sons), Madras, 1953.
59. PRABHĀKARA, Ūmāmaheśvarā, BG-amrita, (with com.), (Mata-prabhākara Granthamālā, Vaiśya Press), Vellore, 1918.
60. PURUSHOTTAM, Jatāvallabhula, BG praveśamu, Kovvur, 1963.
61. RĀDHĀKRISHNA-MŪRTI, Acanta Gītā-bhāva-laharī, (Andhra Girvana Vidya Pithamu), Kovvur, 1974.
62. RĀJU, Tupākula Ananta, BG, Madurai, early 18th cent.
63. RĀJU, Yatirājam Venkatakrishna, Gītānubhava darpanamu, (Śrī Krishnadatta Pracharanilayam), Ellore, 1959.
- RĀMAKRISHNAYYA, K., see below, No. 129.
- 64-65. RĀMAMŪRTI, Purānapandā, MBh, 7 vols., Kakinda, 1958; also SBG, Rajamahendravaram, (1959), 1971.
66. RĀMAPPĀ, K., Gītājyoti, (Swami Chidgaganananda), Somaghotta, 1962.
67. RĀMĀRĀVU, Padāla, MBh, 1958.
68. RAMASUBBAIAK, J., Śrī gītā gītāmulu, (Vānī-niketana Press), Tirupati, 1926.
69. RĀMASVĀMI-CAUDARĪ, Tripuraneni, BG, (1959), 1971.
70. RANGĀRĀVU, Anantākāśa BG, (tr. and com.), (Sri BG-mandiram), Punadipudu, 1970.
71. RAO, Ainaparti Venkata (Venkatarāu), SBG-upanishad pāthamu, Rajahmundry, 1963.
72. RAO, D. S. 'Garu', Jnāneśvarī, (1949), 1972.
73. RAO, Nanduri Venkatasubba, SBG, (tr. of Svāmī Śivānanda's English text), Ellore, 1959; see Eng. 234.
74. RAO, Śrīkantham Krishna, BG, (Vidyānilayam), Tenali, 1955.
75. RATNAGIRI, BG sangrahamu, (prose), (Saraswata Niketanamu), Vetapalemu, 1965.
76. RAVU, Ganganapalle Śankara, MBh-sāramu, (Vavilla Press), Madras, 1934.
77. RAVU, Rājamantripragada K., BG, Elluru, 1926.
- RAVU, see ŚESAGIRI-RAVU, D.
- 77a. REDDI, Devarapalli Venkatakrishna, Krishnagītā, Ulavapadu, 1956.
- REDDI, G. N., see TIRUMALĀCĀRYA.
78. SACCIDĀNANDA-MŪRTI, K., SBG, (with English tr. and Telugu com.), (Ānandāśram), Sangam Jagarlamudi-Guntur, 1941.
79. SAHAJĀNANDOPĀDHYĀYA, SBG āndhra-vyākhyānamu, (chs. 1-2), (G. C. & Co.), Madras, 1911.
80. SANJĪVANĀRĀYANADĀSA, S., Gītāsangītamu, (Srinivāsāśramam), Agaram, 1955, 414 pp.
- 81-83. SARASVATĪ, Rāmacandrānanda, SBG... moksha-granthamu, (Sarasvati Nilaya Press), Madras, 1856; 1869; 1878; 1880... Also SBG padayojanī (verse com.), Madras, 1861; SBG, (Star of India Press), Madras, 1905; SBG bhāshya-traya, (Sarasvati Nilaya Press), Madras, 1915; etc.
84. SARASVATĪ, Śankarānanda, BG, (with Śānkarabhāshya), Rājamahendrapuram, 1941.



85. SARASVATĪ, Svāmī Bhāskarānanda, *Sangīta BG*, (songs based on BG), (Sri Satyanandasramamu), Kovvur, n.d.
86. ŚARMĀ, Īśvara Satyanārāyaṇa, *SBG*, (with *Rājavidyāgītā* commentary), (Sādhana Granthamandali), Tenali, 1961.
87. ŚARMĀ, G. Venkata-narasimha-rāya, *SBG-codanā*, 1958.
88. ŚARMĀ, V. Venkataratna, *Śrīmad-stottara sataślokī BG*, n.d.
89. ŚARMAN, Sūryanārāyaṇa, "Srirangam", *BG-sāra-sankīrtana*, (Vavilla Press), Madras, 1925.
90. ŚĀSTRĪ, Bulusu Appannā, *SBG*, (with Śankara's com.), 4 vols., Bhatnavilli, 1954-63.
91. ŚĀSTRĪ, Brahmācārī Pandita Gopadeva, *BG*, (com.), Hyderabad.
92. ŚĀSTRĪ, Brahmaśrī Nori Gurulinga, *SBG*, (com.), (Pārijāta Press), Madras, 1909; also American Diamond Press, Madras, 1928.
93. ŚĀSTRĪ, Cadaluvāda Sūryanāma, *SBG*, (*Vrāyabadina gītārtha-candrikā*), (Śrī-Rāja-rājeśvarī Press), Madras, 1905.
94. ŚĀSTRĪ, Callā Lakshminārāyaṇa, *Gītā Saptasatī*, Madras, 1960.
95. ŚĀSTRĪ, Civukula Venkararāmaṇa, *Gītāsāra Sangrahamu*, Ayyuru, 1959.
96. ŚĀSTRĪ, N. Gurulinga, *BG bhāshyārthacandrikā*, 1896.
97. ŚĀSTRĪ, Jayanti Jagannātha, *BG āndhra bhāshantara*, (Albert Press), Cocanada, 1928; see also ŚĀSTRĪ, Mantri L.
98. ŚĀSTRĪ, Kalahasti Subrahmanya, *BG*, Madras, 1907.
- 99-100. ŚĀSTRĪ, Krishnamūrti, *MBh*, (*Śrī krishna-bhāratamu*), 7 vols., (Śrī Lalitā Press), Rajahmundry, 1929-36; *Bhīshma-dronaparvamula*, Rajahmundry, 1948. Also *BG-amritamu*, Vijayawada, 1952.
101. ŚĀSTRĪ, Kuchibhotla Prabhakara and ŚĀSTRĪ, Gatti Lakshminarasimha, *SBG*, (Sahiti Samiti), Tenali, 1962.
102. ŚĀSTRĪ, G. Lakshmi Narasimha, *Gītākadambamu*, (Sādhana Granthamandali), Tenali, 1954; see also ŚĀSTRĪ, Kuchibhotla P.
- 102a. ŚĀSTRĪ, Mabuduri Satyanārāyaṇa, *BG*, (Kamalākutīra), Narasāpuram, 1958.
103. ŚĀSTRĪ, Mantri Lakshminārāyaṇa, *MBh*, (in prose, revised by Jayanti Jagannātha Śāstrī), 15 vols., (K. Viravenkayya & Sons), Rajahmundry, 1951-52.
104. ŚĀSTRĪ, Mallādi Narasimha, *BG*, (*Āndhra-tātparya sameta*), (Sītārāma Press), Rajahmundry, 1927.
105. ŚĀSTRĪ, Rāmacandra, *Sāndhra-tīkā BG*, (Kavi Ranjanī Press), Madras, 1873.
106. ŚĀSTRĪ, Satāvadhānī Sūryanārāyaṇa, *BG*, (verse com.), 1926.
107. ŚĀSTRĪ, Subrahmanya, *MBh*, 1956.
108. ŚĀSTRĪ, Sundararāma, *SBG*, (*Gītārtha-sarvasva-rūpamagu, paramārtha-candrikayanu sāndhra-vyākhyānu*), (Śāradāmbā-vilāsa Press), Madras, 1924.
109. ŚĀSTRĪ, Sūryanārāyaṇa, *SBG āndhra-tātparya-bodhinī*, (Brahmaśrī Satāvadhāni Purānam. . .), (Sarasvatīnilaya Press), Madras, 1909.
110. ŚĀSTRĪ, Vārānasī Gangādhara, *Śrīkrishnavāgamaśāviskaranam anu BG*, Rajahmundry, 1964.
111. ŚĀSTRĪ, Venkataranga S., *Śrīmad-āndhravacamabhāratamu*, Chittoor, 1938.
- , SASTRULU, V. R., see below, Tel. 129.
112. ŚESHĀCĀRYULU, Gattupalli, *Śrīmadāndhra MBh-ratnamulu*, Madras, 1911.

113. ŚESHAGIRI-RĀVU, Digavalli, *Jnāneśvarī*, 3 vols., (Ādhyātmika Granthamandali), Vijayawada, 1949-52; 1972.
114. ŚESHAGIRI-RĀVU, Nidamūrti Venkata, *Mokshajnānapātha BG*, Rajahmundry, 1969.
115. SĪTĀDEVI, Penmetsa, *SBG*, (Mantena Satyanārāyana-rāju), Cerukumilli, 1964.
116. ŚIVĀCĀRYA, Śrīkantha, *SBG-bhāshya*, (with Āndhra-tātparya), Elluru, 1934.
117. SOMANĀTHA-RĀVU, Ādipūdi, *Śrīmadāndhra BG*, Madras, 1929.
118. ŚRĪDHARA (SVĀMĪ), *BG-tīkā*, (free tr.), Ms.
119. ŚRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYA, K., *Rājājī-BG*, (tr. of Rājagopālācārī's abridged ed.), 1970; (see Eng. 186).
120. ŚRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYU, Tirumala Ucambādi Śatāvadhāni, *SBG Āndhra-tātparya-sahitamu*, (Sāśilekhā Press), Madras, 1924.
121. ŚRĪPATIŚĀSTRĪ, Śonthi, *SBG-gītālu*, (in verse), Madras, 1953.
122. ŚRĪRANGĀCĀRYA, Addankī, *Telugu gītā*, (Naya gurukula), Kanubholu, n.d.
- , “ŚRĪRANGAM”, see ŚARMAN, Sūryanārāyana.
123. ŚRĪSESHI, ed., *Śrīcatuślokī gītā-bhāgavatamu*, Alapadu, n.d.
124. SUBBAMMA, Nallapāti, *SBG*, (*sanātana chāya vicitra pratimāla antarmukha rahasyārtha bodha*), (Hindi Press), Guntur, 1972.
125. SUBBARĀMAYYA, Gurram Venkata, *BG*, Nellore, 1940.
- 125a. SUBBARĀVA, Nanduri, *BG*, Elūru, 1960.
126. SUBBĀRAYUDU, Agastyarāju, *Nirvacana BG yogamu*, (translated in 8 *aśvāsās*), (Andhradesa BG Anusaranodyama Mandali), Guvvadi, 1965.
127. SUBRAHMANYA-KAVI, P., *MBh*, 1947.
128. SVĀMĪ, Pranavānanda, *BG*, (with *Jnānadīpikā* com.), 1974. Also *Gītābhāshya*, ca. 1925.
- 128a. SVĀMĪ Vidyāprakāśānanda, *Gītāmakarandamu*, (Śukabrahmāsrama), Kalahasti, 1964, (10 + 1103 pp.).
129. TIKKANA-YAJVISOMAYAJI or Ubhayakavimitra (Kavibrahma), *Bhīshmaparvan*, ca. 1260; in *Āndhra Bhāratamu*, translated partly by Nannaya Bhatta, 11th cent., and Erra Pragada, 14th cent., edited as *Āndhra MBh* in 7 vols. by V. R. Sāstrulu & Sons, Madras, 1952-54; crit. ed. by K. L. Ranjanam, D. Venkatavadhani, e.a. (Osmania Univ., Telugu Dept.), Hyderabad, 1970. See also RĀMAKRISHNAYYA Korāda, *Āndhra Bhārata kavītā Vimarśanam*, (Āndhra Granthamālā), Madras, 1929; see above, p. 210, and Tel. 130.
130. TIMMAYA, (Timmanakavi), *Bhīshmaparvan* in *Dvipada Bhāratamu*, (or MBh story in *dvipada* metre, based on MBh translation of Nannaya, Tikkana and Errāpragada), Ms. publ. by Andhra University, 4 vols., Waltair, 1943-50.
131. TĪRTHA, Paramānanda, *BG* (and *Uttaragītā*), Ms.
- 131a. TIRUMALĀCĀRYA, Tallapaka Peda, *BG*, (ed. by G. N. Reddi, S.V.U.), Tirupatti, 1980.
132. TIRUMALAPPA, *BG*, (com., ref. by A. Holtzmann).
133. TIRUMALAYYA, Tallapāka, *BG*, (free rendering), Ms., end 16th cent.
134. VENKATACALAM, Gudipāti, *SBG*, (Premchand Publ.), Vijayawada, 1966.
135. VENKATĀCĀRYA, Sarasvatī, *SBG Bhāshya*, (Sarasvati Press), Nellore, 1884.



136. VENKATĀCĀRYULU, Kandāla, *Ashtādaśaślokī BG*, (18 verses), (Gupta Vidyā Mandalī), Vijayawada, 1951.
137. VENKATAKAVI, Gopinātha, *BG*, 1850; also *SBG-sāstra*, (chs. 2-18), Madras, 1951.
138. VENKATARAU, see RAO, A. V.
- 139-40. VENKATEŚVARULU, Bulusu, *BG*, (translated from Radhakrishnan's English) (B.V. & Sons), Kakinada, 1958, 458 pp. Also *MBh*, 1968.
141. VIJAYARĀMAYYA, Bhuvanagiri, *BG*, Guntur, 1949.
142. VĪRASVĀMINĀYUDU, Gundāla, *Andhra BG*, (P. Venkatarāmayya Bros.), Rajahmundry, 1925.
143. VIŚĀLĀKSHAMMA, Kallūrī *Śrī-MBh-vacanamu*, (prose adaptation), (Venkatarām & Co.), Vijayawada, 1949.
144. VIŚVANĀTHAN, Anipeddi, *BG*, (selections), Mandapaka, 1973.

#### 4.27. Translations into Tamil

Tamil is the fifth language of India with 38 million speakers in Tamil Nadu, and 2.5 more in Śrī Lankā. The Dravidian speakers arrived in India, probably from the Mediterranean, more than 5000 years ago. Links have been found with the Basques of Spain, the Cretans and the Lyceans of Asia Minor. The Dravidians may have been connected with the Indus-valley civilization, although this is more and more contested. In fact, a few hundred thousand people in N. Sind and E. Baluchistan still speak 'Brahui', the most westerly of the Dravidian tongues.

Tamil has a very old literature, 'traditionally' starting from the second *Sangam* (academy), before 500 B.C., although "the earliest corpus of Tamil literary texts may be dated roughly between 100 B.C. and 250 A.D."<sup>1</sup>.

The most famous early Tamil poet-saint is Tiru-Valluvar, whose (*Tiruk-*)*kural* contains aphoristic couplets of superb sagacity. There is also a collection of 3,000 quatrains on mysticism: *Tirumanthiram* by Tirumūlar, and a *Tiruvācaham* by the Śaiva devotee Mānikkavāchar, besides the devotional songs of 'Alvar' Vaishnava saints. The great Sanskrit philosopher Rāmānuja was born in Tamil Nadu, ca. 1017 A.D.

Considering the clear allusions to the Rāma story in ancient texts, it must have been current in early Tamil literature, but the earliest Tamil version of the Rāmāyana is the *Irāmāvatāram* by the great poet Kampan (his dates are between the 9th and 12th centuries)<sup>2</sup>. A partial version of

1. K. U. ZVELEBIL, Tamil Literature, p. 9, in J. GONDA, *A History of Indian Literature*, X.1, Wiesbaden, 1974.

2. *Ibidem*, p. 147,

the Mahābhārata was produced in the 9th century<sup>3</sup> and in ca. 1400 A.D. Villiputtūr produced his great rendering of the Tamil Mahābhārata<sup>4</sup>. In Villiputtūr's version we find 7 stanzas of the BG. Zvelebil<sup>5</sup> further enumerates the following translations of the Mahābhārata in which most probably certain portions of the BG may be found: A. A. KAVI RĀYAR, 18th cent.; NALLĀ PILLAI<sup>6</sup>, first half of 18th cent.; M. V. RAMANUJACHARYA (ca. 1900).

Compared with Hindi, Telugu, Bengali and Marathi, there are few Tamil versions of the Gītā. One of the reasons could be that all the essential teachings of the BG are already present in Tamil scriptures, sometimes in a warmer, more poetical, and also more realistic manner. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, who translated and summarized both the BG and the Kural, writes:

“Tiru-Valluvar, like the BG, definitely takes the view that detachment in conduct is the essence of the principle of renunciation and that monastic life is not necessary for a man's salvation if he knows how to do his duties in ordinary life with detachment and equanimity . . . Mere external giving up is not enough. The emphasis on the renunciation of desire was very relevant in the days of Tiru-Valluvar when large numbers took up celibacy and sanyas.”<sup>7</sup>

Thus, one can compare a verse of the Tiruk-kural: “It is only those who along with the thing given up have given up desire for it that can be said to have renounced. Those who have not done this have not truly renounced”, with BG 2.59: “From a man who fasts, the sense-objects disappear, but not the taste for them; but even this taste ceases if once he has seen the supreme Being”.

The famous linguist, musician, philosopher and leprologist Dr Albert Schweitzer avowed his preference for the Kural:

“One finds here the perception that good is to be done for its own sake . . . Where the BG motivates perseverance in active life in a forced and cold manner by intimating that it is in keeping with the order of the world; the Kural — what progress! — justifies it out of the idea of ethical deeds. Work and livelihood enable man to do good. Duty, according to the Kural, is not only as in the BG what

3. *Ibidem*, p. 142.

4. *Ibidem*, p. 144.

5. *Ibidem*, pp. 144-46.

6. In Nallai's version of the MBh, only 50 stanzas of the BG are found. See H. BOWER, *The BG*, (parallel tr. into English and Tamil), Higginbotham, Madras, 1885, Intr. p. XIV.

7. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, *Kural*, Bhavan's Book Un., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1975, pp. 40 and 62.



the vocation of one's caste demands, but indeed 'everything that is good'."<sup>8</sup>

The Rev. Bower, born in 1813 from a French officer (Bouverie) and a Christian Tamilian, produced a Tamil version of the *Pakavatgitai*, with a parallel English translation based on Thomson's. We quote the first verse:

Cañcayar ! Tarmakṣēttiramāna Kurukṣēttirattilē  
yuttañceyya āyattapattu cērntirukkira  
nammudaiyavarkaḷum paṇḍavarkaḷum enna ceykirarka! ?

Before working at his *Gītā*-translation, this Indianized scholar was engaged in revising the old Tamil Bible printed in 1728. Bartholomäus Ziegenbald (founder of the Danish mission at Tranquebar) had completed the New Testament translation for publication in 1714, which was, indeed, the Bible's very first translation in an Indian language printed in India. The first work, however, printed in any Indian script was Henriques' *Doctrina Christam in lingua Malavar Tamul*, set in ancient Tamil type by the Spanish brother John Gonsalves, at Cochin, 1577. Ziegenbald also prepared a Tamil grammar (published as *Grammatica Damulica seu Malabarica, Halae Saxonum*, 1716).

Meanwhile, another Tamil scholar, Father Constantius Beschi, called 'Virama-munivar', prepared his *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica*, 1738. Before him, Father Roberto de Nobili (called the knower of the essential philosophy, 'Tattuva Podagar') started studying Tamil as a Christian *sannyāsi* at Madurai in 1606. De Nobili is a fine example of cultural osmosis. This Italian nobleman earned the name 'Father of Tamil prose'. He wrote 40 prose works and 3 poetical works in Tamil (besides 8 works in Sanskrit, 4 works in Telugu, and numerous essays in Italian, Portuguese and Latin). It is not sure whether he composed the book originally in Tamil, but a Sanskrit *Śrī Khrishtu Gītā* is wrongly attributed to him. Father S. Rajamanickam discusses the problem and concludes:

"We are persuaded that it was Nobili who wrote this work... The whole book is in the form of a dialogue between a Guru and his disciple... like the BG, which it has imitated with regard to its literary form, and the title is obviously derived from there."<sup>9</sup>

8. Quoted in W. LEIFER, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

Hart formulates the difference as follows :

"...when the BG mentions *bhakti*, it means a disciplined devotion unfraught with feelings of guilt and inadequacy. The Tamil verses, on the other hand, idealize violent and intense emotional involvement with a personal god, accompanied by a sense of wretchedness and repentance."

G. L. HART, 'The Relation between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit Literature', p. 343 in J. GONDA, *A History of Indian Literature*, X.2, Wiesbaden, 1976.

9. RAJAMANICKAM, *The first Oriental Scholar*, de Nobili Research Institute (Thesis Univ., Madras), 1967, p. 86.

He acknowledges that a printed copy of 1831 exists in the library of Bishop's College, Calcutta, yet wonders why manuscripts of apparently the same work in Telugu characters are preserved on palm leaves. The hypothesis of the authorship of de Nobili is contradicted by R. F. Young, who argues, "The anonymous manuscripts are merely copies of the printed edition, made in the customary way by which manuscripts multiplied in India"<sup>10</sup>.

To conclude we quote verse 2.47 from the Tamil rendering by Rajalakshmi of Chinmayānanda's English version:

"Unnuḍaya kaḍamai ceykaiyil iḍupaḍuvadē.  
Palanai etirpārppatalla.  
Ceyyum vēlaiyin bayanuga piritonrai edirpārātē.  
Atarkākac ceyalil iḍupadāmal cummā iruduviḍātē."

#### List of Tamil translations:

Besides the versions in manuscript and the printed editions without date, we count only seven translations printed in the 19th century. Several editions give the Sanskrit text of the BG in Grantha and/or Tamil script. The Tamil version of Svāmī Chidbhavānanda has been reprinted several times, whereas the English version of Svāmī Chinmayānanda has been translated into Tamil. We find also translations of Jnāneśvara's Marāṭhī Commentary and of the versions of Thomson, Tilak, Gāndhī, Besant, Aurobindo and Mascaro.

1. an., *BG*, (manuscripts with tr. and comm.); see Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, (Tamil Mss., No. 390); Orientalische Handschriften in Deutschland, Indische Handschriften, Berlin, No. 1550, etc.
2. an., *MBh*, (in manuscript); e.g. W. Taylor's Cat. of Oriental Mss., Madras, No. 2033, etc.
3. an., *BG*, (*Pakavatkitā mānmiyankal icurakītai mūlam*, in Grantha and Tamil char.), (Ripon Press), Madras, 1912.
4. an., *SBG*, (with com. of Śāṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva, in Grantha and Tamil char.), (Śāstra-sanjivini Press), Madras, 1925.
5. an., *BG*, (Devanāgarī text, Tamil transliteration and literal tr.), (Vavilla Press), Madras, 1950.
6. an., *Gītā* 40, (selected verses, with Śāntipāthas of 4 Vedas, and 10 verses from Tirukkural, in English and Tamil tr.), (Students' Club), Tiruvallur, 1952.
7. an., *MBh*, (abridged), (Little Flower Co.), Madras, 1967.
8. ALAGIYAMANAVĀLAJIYAR, Vādikēsari, *BG-vyākhyānam*, (literal tr. according to Viśishtādvaita), Ms.
9. ĀLAVANTĀR, *Śrī gītārthasangraham*, (tr. with notes by Incimetu Ranganāthācāriyār), (Vedanta Dipika Office), Madras, 1911.
10. Richard Fox YOUNG, 'Church Sanskrit', in *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde Südasiens*, 23 (1979), 219.



10. AMMAL, R. S. Subhalakshmi, Sister, *SBG*, (text in Nāgarī and Tamil char.), (The Śrī Śāradā Ladies' Union), Triplicane, 1928.
11. "ANNA", *SBG*, (text, transliteration, analysis, tr., notes), (Freedom Press), Madras, (1945), 1965. Also *SBG* with *Śrī Rāmakrishna dīpam*, com., (Śrī R. K. Matham), Madras, 1949; 1971 (5th). See below No. 33.
- 11a. ĀRUMUGAN, V., *SB Gvashanam*, (prose), (Ripon Press), Madras, 1921.
12. AYYANGĀR, C. R. Śrīnivāsa, *SBG*, (Swadesa Mitram Pbl.), Madras, 1954.
- 13-14. ĀYYAR, V. Kuppūsāmī, *BG*, (in Grantha script. with com. of Śankara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Śrīdhara, (Rāghavendra), Madhusūdana, Ānandagiri... with word-for-word Tamil tr.), (R. S. Vādhyār), Kalpathi-Palghat, n.d., 998 pp. Also *BG*, (with *Gītārtha Dīpikā* com.), (V. P. Chetty), Madras, n.d.
15. BHĀRATI, Subrahmanya, *BG*, (Kannit Tamiz Patippakkam), Madurai, (1912), 1955; 198 pp.; also *Pāratīyār BG*, (P. Prasuram), Madras, 1977.
16. BHĀRATI, Śuddhānanda, *Gītā Yogam*, (with com.), Madras, 1962 (2nd); also *SBG*, 2 vols., (Yogasamāj), Vadalur, 1942-49.
17. BOWER, H., Rev., *BG*, (parallel tr. into English — based on Thomson's and own Tamil), (Higginbotham), Madras, (1885), 1889.
18. CETTIYĀR, K. Vativelu, *BG-vacanam*, (in prose tr.), Madras, 1924.
19. CHIDBHAVĀNANDA, Swami, *SBG*, Tapovanam, (1951), 1977; see Eng. 75.
20. DEŚIKA, Śrī Vedānta, *Gītārthasangraha* (of Yāmūnācārya in Tamil tr., together with *Gītāsāra* Tamil com. by Śrī Uttamur T. Viraraghava-charya, and in English by Sri K. Bhashyam), (Ubhayavedanta Grantha-mala; Sreevathsa Press), Madras, 1960.
21. DEVARĀJAN, Ramasvami, *BG*, (based on J. Mascaro's Engl. tr.), (Venkatasvami Padipaggam), Madras, 1974.
22. DĪKSHITAR, N. Sōmasundara, *BG*, (with word-for-word tr.), (Ramayana Publ. H.), Palghat, n.d.
23. DURĀISAMI, M., *SBG-vacanam*, (City Press), Madras, 1898.
24. GĪTĀNANDA, *BG*, (tr. and com., adopted from English versions), (Gita Ashram), Cheranmahadevi, 1970.
25. GOVINDASVĀMI, M., *BG*, 1962.
26. "KĀMĀKSHIDĀSĀR", *Śrīmat Pakavatīkītai Porutpā*, (metrical tr.), Madras, 1972.
27. KAVIRĀYA, T. Sanmukha, *Śrīmat Tiravita MBh*, (in prose, based on Nallāpillai's Bhāratam), Madras, 1876; ed. by V. Bālasubrahmanya, (I. Nāyakar & Sons), Madras, 1969.
- KAVIRĀYAR, S., see PATTANAR.
28. KODANDARĀMAN, P., *BG*, (with Aurobindo's com.), (Aurobindo Ashram), Pondicherry, 1959.
29. KRIPĀNANDAVARIYAR, Śrī MBh, (Tiruppukazhamirtam Karya-lam), Madras, 1965.
30. KUPPUSVĀMĪ, Villavarambal, *Gītārtha-dīpikā tīkā*, (Grantha and Tamil char.), (Kalā-ratnākara Press), Madras, 1884-85; 1893-94.
31. LAKSHMANĀCĀRIYAR, *BG*, (with com. in Grantha, Tamil and Telugu char.), (Vānī-nilaya Press), Madras, 1914.
32. MÜPPANĀR, Duraisvami, *SBG-vacanam*, Madras, 1895.
33. MUTHU, Ayyar, *BG*, (verse tr., with annotations by "Anna"), (Sri Rāmakrishna Math), Mylapore-Madras, 1970; see above, Tam. 11.

34. NALLĀ-PILLAI, *MBh*, (completing the earlier version of Villiputturar), 15th cent., published several times, e.g. 1880; 1950; see above, Tam. 27.
35. NĀMADEVA, R. C., *SBG Venba*, (Gita Nilayam), Kulattur, 1957.
36. NARASIMHĀCĀRIYĀR, Cetlūr, *SBG*, (with com. of Rāmānuja and Venkatanātha), 3 vols., (Satsampradāya Vardhini Sabhai), Madras, 1914.
37. NĀRĀYANASVĀMI, S. M., *BG-cāran*, 1972.
38. NATARĀJAN, A. L., ed., *Viyacar Aruliya MBh*, 4 vols., (Aruna Publ.), Madras, 1963-65; Madras, 1977.
- NĀYUDU, K. R., see TATTĀCĀRYA, A. S.
39. NĀYUDU, S. P. Narasimmalu, (BG and its Esoteric Meaning, A Lecture, Part I; in Tamil char.), Coimbatore, 1907.
40. NĀYUDU, V. Rāmacandra, *SBG*, (based on A. Besant's English), Enangudi, 1920.
41. PĀRATI, C. Cuppiramaniya, *BG drāvida artha sahita*, (Nāgarī and Tamil char.), (Bhārati Press), Madras, ca. 1927.
42. PATTANĀR, *BG*, (verse tr. with com. by Somasundara Kavirāyar), (B. Ratna Nāyakar), Madras, 1948.
43. PERUNDEVANĀR, “Bharatampādiya”, *Bhāratavenbā*, (MBh adaptation in verse and prose), at court of Pallava King.
44. PIRAHMĀNANTASVĀMI, Śrī, *SBG Karma-kītai, sapta-culoki kītai*, (Nāgarī and Tamil char.), (Śankaravilāsa Sārādā-mandira Press), Tanjore, 1923.
45. RĀGHAVĀCĀRYAR, *SBG sakalopanishat-sāra sarvasyabhūta*, (in Grantha char.), (Vidyāvinoda Press), Madras, 1881.
- 45a. RAGHAVAN, V., *MBh*, (abr.), (Natesan), Madras, 1935.
46. RĀJAGOPĀLĀCĀRĪ, Cakravarti, *Kannan Kattiyavali*, (com.), (Cinnai), Mayilappur, 1937; Madras, 1952 (3rd); also *Vyāsar Virandu* (MBh abridged); 1943.; tr. into several languages.
47. RĀJALAKSHMĪ, G. R., *SBG*, (tr. from Svāmī Chinmayānanda's English version, Gītājnāna Yajna Samiti), Madras, 1961; see p. 220.
48. RĀMĀNUJĀCĀRYA, V. K., *SBG-bhāshya*, (tr. of Rāmānuja's com.).
49. RĀMARĀV, M., *SBG*, (with com.), 3 vols., (R. Narasimhachar), Kumbakonam, 1972-73.
- RAMASAMI, Svāmī, see ŚIVANAR, S.
50. RĀMAYYAR, T. Pt. Kotanta, *SBG*, (with Jnāneśvara's com., Tamil, Grantha and Nāgarī char.), (Sri Panduranga Press), Madras, 1925-27.
51. RANGANĀTHA, Puluva, *Bharata*, (summary), Ms.
52. RANKĀCĀRYA, U. Y., *SBG-bhāshya*, (tr. of Rāmānuja's com.), Madras, 1894.
- RAO, M. R., see RĀMARĀV, M.
53. SANTHĀNAM, K., *Anāsakti yokam allatu parrinrivāzta*, (tr. of M. K. Gandhi's Gujarati version), (S. Ganeśan), Madras, 1947; 1956; Tanjore, 1972.
54. SARASVATI, Rāmacandrānanda, *BG*, 1927.
55. ŚARMĀ, Sundararāja, *BG*, (in Grantha and Tamil char.), (Vedānta-bodhini Press), Madras, 1909; also *SBG* with Śankara's com., Madras, 1906; Tapovanam-Tirukkivilur, 1977.
56. ŚIVANAR, Śeshādrī, *Gītāsāratalattu Śaiva Siddhānta*, (Tracts on the Śaiva Vedānta, ed. by Ramasami Swami), Madras, 1887.
57. ŚRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYA, Kizhattur, *SBG*, (text in Tamil char. and tr.), (Lifco.), Madras, (1969), 1971.



- 57a. ŚRĪNIVASĀCĀRYA, V. K., *SBG*, (The Little Flower Co.), Madras, 1969.
- ŚRĪNIVĀSAKAVI, *MBh tīkā*, Ms., 19th cent.
58. ŚRĪNIVĀSĀYYANKĀR, *SBG*, (Nāgarī and Tamil char.), (Sudeśa Mitra Press), Madras, 1924.
- SUBHALAKSHMĪ, R. S., see AMMAL.
59. SUBRĀHMANYA, Guru, *BG*, Ms., ca. 1775.
60. SVĀMĪ, Bālasubrahmanya, *Tātparya-dīpikā*, (Sanskrit com., with Tamil paraphrase), (C.N.T. Inst. Press), Madras, 1926.
61. SVĀMĪ, Irāmacantirānanta Sarasvatī, *SBG drāvida tātparya sahitam*, (Grantha and Tamil char.), (Śiva-rahasya Press), Madras, 1917; (Śāstrasanjivini Press), Madras, 1920.
62. SVĀMĪ, Kāśikānanda Jnānācārya, *BG*, (15th ch., Mūrkkasatakam), Madurai, 1951.
63. SVĀMĪ, Ponnambala, *BG*, (Ripon Press), Madras, 1912.
64. SVĀMĪ, Trivenkata, *BG*, 1900.
65. "TAMIZVĀNAN", (pseud.), *BG*, 1973.
66. TANGAMANI, *BG*, 1977.
67. TATTĀCĀRYA, A. S. and NĀYUDU, K. R., *Gītārthasangraha*, (of Yāmūnācārya in tr.), Madras, 1899.
68. (TILAK), *SBG-Rahasya*, (incomplete tr. of L. Tilak's Marathi com.), 1924.
69. TURAIKANNAN, Nārana, *SBG allatu Kannan jnānopadeśa*, (M. Rāmulu), Madras, (1939), 1942.
70. VĀLAM, H. K., *Bāla-BG*, 1964.
71. VENGADANĀTHAR, *Gītāsārattālāttu*, Ms.
72. VILLIPUTTŪR(ĀR), *Bharatam*, (Tamil MBh, in viruttam metre, 10 parvas only — BG in 7 stanzas), completed by Nallā-Pillai; 15th cent.; ed. by S. A. Irāmasāmiappulavar, Tinnevely, (1951), 1970; K. Rājagopālācāriyar, Madras, 1970. See above, p. 218.
73. VĪRARĀGHAVĀCĀRYA, Śrī Uttamur T., *Gītāsāra*, (see DEŚIKA, S. V.); also *BG-artham*, with Tamil transliteration and word-for-word tr., (Ubhayavedānta Granthamālā), Madras, 1972.
74. (YĀMUNĀCĀRYA), *Gītārthasangraha*, (tr. of Yāmūna's com.), 1960; see also above, Tam. 20 and Com. 224.

#### 4.28. Translations into Kannada

Kannada or Kanarese is the majority language in Karnataka State, especially in the Mysore State, spoken by ca. 22 million people. The Kannada characters differ but little from the Telugu script. In the 9th century independent Kannada literature was already emerging.

*Kavirājamārga* is the first work available in Kannada; it is a guide to poets and gives extracts from the Rāmāyana in Kannada and possibly also from the Mahābhārata. In the 10th century, we have an adaptation of the MBh by Jain poets.

In the 10th century also Pampa made a masterly and original version of the MBh in old Kannada poetry, following the *champu* form of the Sanskrit lyrics. His *Vikramārjunavijaya* is popularly known as *Pampa-*

*bhārata* (ca. 941 A.D.). Mugali remarks: "Though Pampa has generally followed the outline as he found it in the epic, he has shed a new light in the latter part of the Bhārata-story and removed some of the contradictions in the original . . . *Pampabhārata* is one of the great classics of Kannada poetry."<sup>1</sup> Kumārvyāsa (ca. 1400) used the *shatpadi* metre for his translation of the MBh, completing the 10th parva in about 8,500 verses.

His *Bhāminīshatpadi Bhārata* is one of the most popular classics in Kannada. Mugali states: "If the Bhārata of Pampa is a great human document, that of Kumārvyāsa is a 'superhuman saga', in the sense that it embodies the vision of the poet, upholding the decisive part played by the Divine in human affairs."<sup>2</sup>

Another adaptation of the MBh — and of the Rāmāyana — was made by Nāranappa of Dharwar and completed by Timmanna, also in the *shatpadi* metre (15th cent.). It is not clear how a philosophical work like the BG fared in the midst of the great epic renderings. Yet it is recorded that the Rājās of Mysore insisted on obtaining a separate version of the Gītā. This was prepared by Nāgarasa of Pandharpur, at the beginning of the 18th century<sup>3</sup>. Perston rightly points out<sup>4</sup> that it was difficult for a vernacular language like Kannada to express all the concepts of classical Sanskrit, in spite of its capacity to adopt loan-words from foreign languages. The linguistic dominance and infiltration of Sanskrit appears especially in the Gītā for attributes of Krishna and for the philosophical and psychological terms. In fact, Sanskrit is not easy to render adequately, even in an Indian vernacular, because it has a lot of subtle indeclinable particles and can easily construct compound words of any length.

An interesting tool for linguistic comparison was prepared by Rev. J. Garrett in 1849: 'The Bhagavat-Geeta, or Dialogues of Krishna and Arjoon, in 18 Lectures. Sanscrit, Canarese and English in parallel columns'. The Sanskrit text is of the von Schlegel edition (see above, p. 27), transliterated into Kannada character. The English text is of the

1. R. S. MUGALI, *History of Kannada Literature*, (Sahitya Akademi), New Delhi, 1975, p. 28.

See also D. J. GOWDA, 'Pampa', in V. RAGHAVAN, ed. *Ramayana, MBh and Bhagavata writers*, (Cultural Leaders of India, Publ. Division), New Delhi, 1978, pp. 14-34.

2. R. S. MUGALI, in K. SANTHANAM, ed., *An Anthology of Indian Literature*, 1969, p. 295.

3. See E. RICE, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, in *Heritage of India Series*, OUP, 1921.

4. W. PERSTON, 'Borrowing from Sanskrit into Kannada' in *Babel*, 9 (1963), 68-70.



Wilkins version. The Kannada version is newly edited by Garrett, along with the Latin translation of Schlegel, slightly improved by C. Lassen. The edition also gives some linguistic remarks of Baron von Humboldt, whose German text is translated by Rev. Weigle. From this, it would appear that these early missionaries and scholars in Karnataka had a great feeling of admiration for the *Gītā*.

List of Kannada translations:

1. an., *MBh*, (Jain adaptations; 10th century).
2. an., *BG* (prose and verse translations in manuscript), e.g. Catalogue of Kanarese Manuscripts, No. 307, ca. 1700; India Office Library, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Nos. 6517, 6524; Indian Manuscripts at Berlin, No. 1549, etc.
3. an., *MBh*, (prose and verse abridged renderings in manuscript), e.g. *Bhāratam* (see W. Taylor's Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Nos. 1206, 1220); *Jaiminī Bhārata* (usually only *Aśvamedha*), e.g. ed. and tr. by D. Sanderson, Bangalore, 1852; etc.
4. an., *BG*, Bangalore, 1849.
5. an., *Satīka BG*, (Karnataka Pr. Wks.), Bellary, 1912.
6. an., *BG*, (*Kannada-tīkā sahitavāgi*), (Karnataka Bk. Depot Press), Bellary, 1914.
7. an., *BG*, (City Book), Hubli, 1960.
8. an., *SBG*, (with text in Kannada script), (Hindusthan Publ.), Udipi, 1961.
9. an., *Gītā Gambhīrya*, (Śrīranga Rangamanga Prakāśana Samiti), Dharwar, n.d.
10. an., *Kannada MBh*, sev. vols., (Bhāratadarśana Prakāśana), Bangalore, 1972... (in process).
11. ĀDIDEVĀNANDA, Svāmī, *BG*, (Mangalore Trad. Assoc.), Mangalore, 1966; also with introd., word-for-word rendering, tr. and notes from com. of Śankara and Rāmānuja, (Ramakrishna Ashram), Mysore, 1963.
12. AHMED, (Husanuddin), *SBG*, 1975 (?).
13. ALASINGARĀCĀRYA, Devāsikhāmani, ed., *Śrī MBh*, (in prose), 21 vols., (Karnataka Bk. Depot), Madras, 1932-33.
14. ĀLURA, Venkatarāva Bhīmarāva, *BG*, (selected verses in com.). Also *Gītābhāvaprādīpa* (Gitabhavan), Dharwar, 2 vols., 1958.
- 14a. ĀPATE, Ananta, *Gītāsārokti*, (with com.), (Samāja Pust.), Dharwar, 1959.
15. AYYANGAR, M. A. Nārāyana, *BGiteyalliruva bhaktiyoga mattu kshetra-kshetrajna vicāra*, Bangalore, 1967.
16. BADAMI, Lingopanth K., *Gītākunja*, 1940.
17. BHĀGAVAT-PĀDĀCĀRYA, *Śrīmad-anu-Bhāshyam*, *urdhva mūla, tāratamya-stotra sahitam*, (selections), (Prabhakara Press), Udipi, 1911.
18. BHĀRADVĀJA, D. K., *Anāsaktiyoga*, (of M. K. Gandhi), Tungabhadra, 1930.
19. BHATTA, Badekkela Venkatarāmana, *Gītāsāra*, (in *shatpadi* metre), Puttur, 1946.
20. BHATTA, Śrīnivāsa, *BG*, (with *Sukha-bodhinī* verse com.), (Śrīkrishna Press), Udipi, 1927.

21. CIDAMBARAYYA, Hosakere, *Gītārtha-vivarana*, (tr. and com.), (ed. by Pt. Saligram N. Sastri, Paramārtha Pr. Wks.), Bangalore, 1917; also *BG-sāra-vicāra* com.; *Gītārtha-candrikā* com., (S.C.N. Book Depot), Bangalore, 1929; 1954. Also a *Makallakai Gītā* (children's Gītā).
22. CIKKADEVARĀJA, MBh, (prose-adaptation), Ms., ca. 1690.
23. DIVĀKARA, Ranganātha Rāmacandra, *Gītiya-guttu athavā paramātmayogavu SBG*, (*mūla śloka, sarala kannada artha, kathina śabdārtha, tippanī*), (Śrīkrishna Press), Dharwar, 1924; 1928; Hubli, 1928, 1952, 1961...; also *Gītā nityapātha*, 1963 (3rd).
24. GARRETT, J., Rev., *The BG or Dialogues of Krishna and Arjoon, in 18 Lectures. Sanscrit, Canarese, and English in parallel columns...* (Wesleyan Mission Press), Bangalore, 1849, (Preface of 1846); see above, p. 30.
25. GOPĀLAKRISHNA, Rantala, *BG*, 1978.
26. GOVINDARĀYA, Savanūra, *Gītārtha Bodhinī athavā kannada dalli viśeshartha vannolagonda gītaya vodalina aru adhyāyagala anuvādavu*, (in Nāgarī and Kannada char.), (Karnataka Pr. Wks.), Dharwar, 1928.
27. GUNDAPPA, D. V., *BG*, (text in Kannada script and tr.), (Kavya-laya), Mysore, 1966; also Lectures on BG: *Gītātātparya, Jīvana Dharma yoga...*
28. HRUDAYANVEŚENE, Ācārya, *SBG*, 1942.
29. JAKKABHUPĀLA, MBh, (prose adaptation), Ms., ca. 1620.
30. JAKKANANĀYAKA, *Bhārata-kathā-sangraha*, Ms.
- 30a. JAYARATNAM, *Purushottamayoga* (BG 15), 1971.
31. KAVI, Nāgārāṣa Kamatak, *BG*, (verse tr.), 1908.
32. "KINKARA", D. Revanappa, *BG-sāra-candrikā*, 1975.
- KRISHNASVAMI, S., ed., see TIMMANNA.
33. KRISHNAYOGI, *BG-sāra*.
34. KULAKARNI, A. K., *Śrī Jñāneśvarī*, 1964.
35. KULAKARNI, Cidambara S., *SBG-kathogalu*.
36. KUMĀRAVYĀSA, MBh-vishaya-sāra, (in *Bhāminī shatpadi* poetry), 14th cent. or ca. 1430 ?; ed. by S. N. Krishna Jois, Univ. of Mysore, 1955; see also NĀRANAPPA, G.
37. NĀGARASA (of Pandharpur), *Samślokī BG*, (in *Bhāminī shatpadi* metre), ca. 1650; ed. by M. Śrīnivāsa Rāv, as *Karnātaka BG*, Mysore, 1908.
38. NĀGEŚA-ŚĀSTRĪ, Y., *Śrīmat-karnātaka BG*, Bellary, 1933.
39. NANJARĀJA, Kalale, (court poet), MBh (prose rendering), Ms., ca. 1742.
40. NĀR(ĀY)ANAPPA, Gadugina, "Kumāra Vyāsa", *Karnātaka MBh*, or *Bhārata-kathā-manjarī*, or *Gadugina Bhārata*, in *bhāmanī shatpadi* metre, only 10 parvas, continued by TIMMANNA, ca. 1475; see also KUMĀRAVYĀSA.
41. NARASIMHĀCĀR, P. T., *BG*, (Jivana Kāryālaya), Bangalore, 1951.
42. NĀRĀYANA, A., MBh *tātparyanirnaya*, (with tr. and com.), (Śrī Madhava-muni Sevasangh), Udipi, 1939.
43. NĀYAKA, Venkatarao Ramacandraro, *BG*.
- 44-45. ODEYAR, Krishnarāja, Mummudi, *Śrī Krishnarāja Vānīvilāsa emba MBh Kannada tiku*, 16 vols., (first Kannada prose version of complete MBh), (M. Rudrappa & Sons), Bangalore, 1890-91. Also *BG*, (tr. and com.), Bangalore, 1908.



46. PAI, Lakshmana Bābani, *BG*, (com.), (L. B. Pai Mem. Publ.), Hubli, 1957; also *MBh-samhiteya*, sev. vols., Hubli, n.d.
47. PAMPA, *Pampa-Bhārata*, (or *Vikramārjuna-vijayam*, in old Kannada poetry, believed to be the first major work in Campu style), 10th-12th cen.; see below, TIMMAPPAYYA, M.
48. PAWAR, B. T., Pitāmbara Rao, *BG*, (Yugantha Press), Bangalore, 1976.
49. PRAKĀŚĀNANDA, *SBG*.
50. RĀGHAVĀCĀRYA, Vijaya, *SBG-Rāmānuja-bhāshya*, (with Yāmuna's and own com.), 4 vols., Bangalore, 1939-48.
51. RĀJARATNAM, G. P., *Pampabhārata-sāra*, (abridged, in prose), (Hind Kitabs), Bangalore, 1948.
52. RĀMACANDRA, Ācārya, *BG*, Ms., copied in 17(0)5, (India Office Libr., Sanskrit Mss., No. 6518).
53. RĀMACANDRA, Magdala, *BG*, *Buddhiyoga*, (later expanded in English).
54. RĀMĀCĀRYA, Bannanje, *SBG*, (with Madhva's com.), (Majestic Press), Udipi, 1958.
55. RANGĀCĀRYA, K., *BG Ranarangadalli*, (illustrated), Dharwar, 1956.
- 55a. RANGANĀTHA, Śāstrī, *SBG*, (Sarasvati), Belgaum, 1968.
- RAO, S., see SAMPADGIRI.
- RAO, Śankara Nārāyana, *SBG*, n.d.
56. RĀV, M. Haridāsa, *Śrī kannada MBh*, (abridged), (Sarvodaya Sāhitya-māle), Hubli, 1951.
57. SAMPADGIRI RAV, K., *BG*, (selected verses acc. to Rājagopālācārī's version), Bangalore, 1949; 1973.
58. SAMPANGIRAMA, Bharati, *SBG*.
59. SARASVATĪ, Saccidānandendra, *SBG-sāra*, 1960.
60. ŚARMĀ, Siddavanhalli K., *BG*, (S.V.S. Samiti, State Adult Educ. Com.), Mysore, 1954.
61. ŚARMĀ, Śivānanda Subrahmanya, *SBG-gūdhārtha dīpikā athavā rahasyārthaprabodhinī*, (tr. and com.), 2 vols., Mysore, 1913-16.
62. ŚĀSTRĪ, A. R. K., *Vacana Bhārata*, (abridged), Mysore, 1919.
63. SATĀNANDA, *Gītā-bhārata*, (ref. in A. Holtzmann).
64. SĀVANTA, Ābāji Rāmacandra, *BG*, (*karnātakī-subodhinī-tīkā*, in Devanāgarī char.), (Rāmatatvaprakāśa Press), Belgaum, 1893.
65. ŚESHĀCĀRYA, Hālavannahālī, *SBG*, (*karnātaka vyākhyāna sahita*), (Bangalore Press), Bangalore, (1928), 1929.
66. SHAMA, Amrutha Channa, *Gītāyoga BG*.
- 66a. SHAMA RAO, T. S., *Śrīkrishnana Kadeya Sandeśa*, 1971.
67. SIDDHAPPĀRĀDHYA, T. G., *Gītā māte*, (Viśvavidyānilaya), Mysore, 1964; also *BG-vīraśaivabhāsyam*, Chitradurga, 1963.
68. SOMANĀTHĀNANDA, V., *BG*, (with *Gītābhāvadhāra* com.), (S. R. K. Misson), 1972.
69. ŚRĪDHARA, B., "Śrī", *Makkala gīte*, *Gītā for children*, (Kannada and Engl. tr.), (Darpana), Bangalore, (1972), 1973.
70. ŚRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYA, *BG*, (with com. based on Rāmānuja's), Ms., copied 19th cent.
71. ŚRĪNIVĀSAIYA, Munsī, *BG*, (text and tr., Introduction and notes by J. Garrett), (Mysore Vernacular Series, Mysore Govt. Press), Bangalore, 1870 (2nd).
- ŚRĪRANGA, *Gītāgāmbhīrya*, *Śrī Krishnana sāmījāśūstra*, see No. 9.
72. SUBANNA, M. S., *BG*, (in *kusuma shatpadi* metre), Bellary, 1938.

73. SUBBĀRĀO, S., *SBG*, (text and tr.), (Nirnaya Sāgara Press), Bombay, 1916; also *BG*, verse com., 1923.
74. SUBRAHMANYA, S., *BG*, (verse com.), 1923.
75. SUBRAHMANYA, Śivānanda, *BG*, (with Madhusūdana's and own com.), Mysore, 1911.
76. SŪRĪ, Rāmakrishna, *BG savyākhyā*, Ms., (Orient. Inst., Baroda); ed. as *SBG kannada-dalli tīkisalpattu*, (in Telugu char.), (Vijnāna-darpana Press), Bangalore, 1868; 1895.
77. (TILAK, L.), *SBG-rahasya*, (tr.), 1919.
78. TIMMANNA (TIMMAPPA), Krishnarāja, *MBh-ashta-parva* or *Krishnarāja-bhārata* or *bhāratakathā kusumavallari*, (in *bhāminī shat-padi*, 8 parvas, completing NĀRANAPPA'S version, from Śāntiparva onwards), ca. 1510; ed. by T. N. Krishnasvāmī Śetti, Bangalore, 1937.
79. TIMMAPPAYYA, Muliya, *Samasta bhārata sāra*, (prose version of Pampa Bhārata), Mangalore, 1941.
80. TĪRTHA, Sujnānendra, *Gītāmrita sāra*, Udipi, 1969.
81. VĀDIRĀJA, Svāmī, *Bhārata-tātparya nirnaya*, (Madhva's com. tr.), Ms., ca. 1570; ed. Belgaum, 1891.
82. VĀNIVILĀSA, Krishnarāja, *MBh*, (abridged).
83. VYĀSAYOGI, Kumāra, *Bharatam*, (in hexametres), Ms.

#### 4.29. Translations into Malayalam

Malayalam, the official language of Kerala, is spoken by ca. 22 million people. Although the language belongs to the Dravidian group, its literary vocabulary contains a fair amount of Sanskrit words. Occupying a long stretch of coastland, this land of the Cheras has been hospitable to Christians, Jews and Muslims.

During the period 1350-1450 the Niranam poets — a gifted family of two brothers and their nephew — wrote free, condensed renderings of the Rāmāyana, the MBh and the Bhāgavata Purāna. Śankara Panikkar made a condensed version of the MBh, called Bhāratamālā, and Mādhava Panikkar translated the Gītā (ca. 1400). "Madhava Panikkar's translation of the Gita would seem to be the earliest in any Indian language. He had a perfect understanding of Sri Shankara's *Bhashya* (Commentary) on the Gita and could delve into the very fundamentals of the work so much so he could shorten the original with its 700 *slokas* into 328 couplets without omitting any important idea."<sup>1</sup> This translation

1. P. K. PARAMESVARAN NAIR, *History of Malayalam Literature*, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 38 and 272. See also K. K. NAIR and P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI, in K. SANTHANAM, *An Anthology of Indian Literature*, 1969, p. 381.

We quote from Panikkar's translation, as given in K. M. GEORGE, *A survey of Malayalam Literature*, (Asia Publ. House), 1968: "One day you will be born / and then you grow past childhood, / and many changes, one after another / will come over your physical form. / But one thing will not change, / nor perish, and it is substance without forms. / Listen, O Arjuna, / note this and fight your battle! / So spoke the Lord graciously."



may be the most ancient in Malayalam, but it is not in 'any Indian language'. At that time, the language used was still an odd mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. The poet Nāyar Tunchattu Rāmānuja Ezhuttachchan produced a truly Malayalam translation of the MBh, at the end of the 16th century. However, the fidelity of the translator can be questioned as his greatness "lies in the fact that he plastically handled the material to communicate his own world-view"<sup>2</sup>.

Since the early Christians in Kerala used Syriac as their liturgical language, the first translations of the Bible in Malayalam appeared only in 1829.

There was an early tradition of copying the Gītā text in Malayalam characters. To his edition of 1849 (see above, p. 30) Garrett adds a list of Sanskrit variants found in Malayalam manuscripts of the BG. Belvalkar could only refer to this list, being unable to trace the particular manuscripts<sup>3</sup>.

#### List of Malayalam translations:

Besides a few references to manuscripts and to a few early versions of the MBh we count about 46 recently printed translations into Malayalam. Of the dated editions 30 (or 66%) appeared after 1950.

1. an., *BG*, (*padya-gadya* tr. or com.), Mss.
2. an., *MBh*, (adaptations), Mss., e.g. Bhāratam (W. Taylor's Cat. of Orient. Mss., No. 1951, Madras).
3. an., *Gītāmahāśāstram*, (com., ed. by K. Rāghavanpilla), (Oriental Res. Inst.), Tiruvanantapuram, 1972.
4. an., *SBG*, (Educational Suppl. Depot), Phalgat, n.d.
- 4a. an., *BG*, (with com. of Śankara, quotations from Śrīdhara, Śāṅkarānanda, and Ānandagiri), (S.P.C.S.), Kottayam, 1961, 636 pp.
- , ĀNANDAKUTTAN, see PANIKKAR, Mādhava.
5. ĀTMARĀMAN, Katamparal, *Gītārāhasyam*, (tr. from Hindi review *Kalyāna*), (Jaya Press), Mavelikara, 1962.
6. AYYAR, Śeshādri, *SBG*, (tr. and com.), (Univ. of Travancore), Trivandrum, 1948, 62 + 584 + 27 pp.
7. AYYAR, G. S. Śrīnivāsa, *BG*, (with com. based on Brahmānandagiri), (Rāmiyana Publ. H.), Phalgat, 1952.
8. CAUDHARĪ, Upendrakiśora Rāya, *Kuttikalute MBh*, (with the help of C. Pārukkutti Amma and C. Sarojini Nāyar), Kozhikode, 1946.
9. CHANDU, P. Kunhi, *SBG*, (text and tr.), (Vidyā-vilāsa Press), Tellicherry, 1911.
10. (CINMAYĀNANDA, Svāmī), *BG*, (Murli Publ.), Tattamangalam, 1975.

2. K. K. NAIR, *op. cit.*, p. 382. Also about Tunchan's Rāmāyana K. Bhaskaran Nair remarks, "Nowhere does it read like a translation at all... In this great work Kerala discovered its own soul" (in V. Raghavan, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92).

3. Critical ed., Appendix, III, p. 754.

11. EZHUTTUCHCHAN, Nāyar Tūnchattu Rāmānuja (or Tuccattu Eluttacam), *MBh*, (poet. rendering), end 16th cent.; this Malayalam *MBh* appeared in Devanāgiri transliteration and Hindi tr. by K. A. Subrahmanya Ayyar, (Bhuvana Vānī Trust), Lucknow, 1975, 1210 pp.
12. GOPĀLAN, V. V., *MBh*, (*laghu sangraham*), 1974.
13. IKKĀVAMMA, Ampāti, *Anāsakti yogam*, (tr. from M. K. Gandhi's Gujarati, through Hindi), (Mātribhūmi Press and Publ. H.), Kozhikode-Calicut, (1947), 1967.
- 13a. ISSAHAC, A., Sahib, *Śrī kairālī BG*, n.d.
- IYER, P. N. Ananthanarayana, *MBh*, Perinkulam, 1969.
14. "K.M.", *SBG*, (tr. and com.), (India Press), (1905), 1966 (8th); also with Śāṅkarabhāṣya, (Gita Ltd.), Trichur, 1952.
15. KRISHNAN, N. K., *SBG-sāram*, (Śrī Vasudeva Āśramam), Quilandy, 1960.
16. KURUP, K. Parameśvara, *SBG*, (Star Press), Trivandrum, 1965.
17. "K.V.M.", *BG*, (with *Sārārtha bodhinī* com.), (P. K. Bros.), Kozhikode, 1964.
18. MĀRĀR, K. M. Kuttikrishna, *Gītāparikramanam*, Kottayam, 1974.
19. MENON, Kunnan, *SBG*, (prose tr. with com. of Śankara, Śankarānanda, e.a.), (Gita Press), Trichur, 1952.
20. MENON, Kunnathu Janardhana, *SBG*, (tr. and com., revised by Cheppattu Achutha Warriar or Variyar), (Śrī Rāmavilāsam Press), Quilon, n.d.
21. MENON, Māyankottu Nārāyana, *BG-bālabodhinī*, (prose tr.), (K. R. Bros.), Kozhikode, 1956.
22. MIRCCANDĀNI, Lakshmi, *Gītāsāram*, 1955.
23. MÜSSATU, T. C. Parameśvaran, *BG*, (with *Gītāsārārtha* com.), (Bhāratavilāsam Press), Trichur, 1921; also *Gītā-rahasya*, (L. Tilak's com., in translation), Kottayam, 1956.
24. MUSSATU, K. Vasudevan, *SBG*, (with *Sārārthabodhinī* com.), (P. K. Brothers), Kozhikode, 1964.
- 24a. MUTHUKULAM, *BG*, (V. V. Press), Quilon, 1959.
- NAIR, see NĀYAR.
25. NAMPEESAN, P. K., *BG*, (with com., chs. 1-6 only), Guruvayoor, 1955, 645 pp.
26. NĀYAR, P. Gopālan, (Sāhitya kusalan), *SBG*, (with com.), (P. K. Bros.), Calicut, 1968 (4th).
28. NĀYAR, P. M. Nārāyanan, *SBG*, (with *Sārārtham* com., revised by Pt. K. K. Paniker), (Vidyārambham Press), Alleppey, 1968 (7th).
29. NĀYAR, P. Rāghavan, *Gadyagītā*, (prose tr.), (Śrī Rāmavilāsam Press), Trivandrum, 1962.
30. PAI, M. Rāma, *BG*, (prose tr.), (Śrī Rāmavilāsam), Quilon, 1924.
- 30a. PANIKKAR, K. K., *SBG bhāvadarpanam*, 1951, 884 pp.
31. PANIKKAR, Mādhava, (Niranam or Kannaśśan Mādhavappanikarute), *Bhāṣhā BG*, (verse tr.), early 15th cent.; publ. by Sarasvativilāsam Press, Trivandrum, 1926; edited with foreword and notes by Ānandakuttan, Sahitya pravarthaka, (India Press), Kottayam, 1958; (St Joseph's Press; Kerala Sahitya Akad.), Trichur, 1965.
32. PANIKKAR, Rāma, (Niranam or Kannaśśan), *MBh* or *Kannaśśa Bhāratam*, 15th cent.; ed. by K. Mahādeva Śāstri, (Univ. of Travancore), Trivandrum, 1940.
33. PANIKKAR, Śankara, *Bhāratamālā*, (*MBh* condensed), early 15th cent.; ed. by P. K. Nārāyana Pilla, (Univ. of Travancore), Trivandrum, 1950.



- PANILKER, K. K., see NĀYAR, P. M. Nārāyanan.
34. PARAMEŚVARAYYAR, N. B., *BG*, (abridged, with notes), Trivandrum, 1938.
35. PATTAM, P. D., *BG*, *Kerala bhāṣhā gānam*, (S.G. Press), Parur, 1952.
- PILLA, N., ed., see S. PANIKKAR.
36. PILLA, Pannappāra Keśava, *SBG*, (with introduction by Śūranāttu Kunnan Pilla), (Kamalālaya Pr. & Publ. Wks.), Trivandrum, 1952 (3rd).
37. PILLA, Payyampallil Gopāla, *Śrimadgītā sāram*, (Redyar Press), Trivandrum, 1950.
38. PILLAI, P. Ramakrishna, *BG*, (B.K. Book Depot), Trivandrum, 1954.
39. PRAKĀŚAM, K., *Vyāsa MBh*, (in prose), 2 vols., (Vyasa Publ. H.), Palazhi, 1968.
40. PRAKĀŚĀNANDA, Svāmī, *SBG*, (with *sāadhanābodhinī* com.), (Ramakrishnāśrama), Trichur, (1967), 1970, 76+620 pp.
41. RAVIVARMA, V. A., *BG*, (with *Lalitā-vyākhyānam* com.), (B.V. Book Depot), Trivandrum, 1934, 577 pp.
42. SARASVATĪ, Īśvarānanda, *SBG*, (with *Bhāgyodayam* com.), (Bhārata-vilāsam Press), Trichur, 1939.
43. SARASVATĪ, Jnānānanda, Svāmī, *MBh sārasarvasvam*, vol. 1, (Jnānāndāśramam), Pallur, 1964. Also *SBG sangraham*, 1965; and *SBG* (with com.), Pallur, 1968.
44. ŚARMĀ, V. V., *SBG*, (tr. and com.), (S. Reddyār Press), Trivandrum, 1946, 666 pp.
- ŚĀSTRĪ, M., see M. PANIKKAR.
45. ŚĀSTRĪ, P. S. Anantanārāyana, *SBG*, (with *Anusvānam* com.), (Man-galodayam), Trichur, (1944), 1951 (2nd), 405+10 pp.
46. ŚĀSTRĪ, Subrahmanya, *BG sāra sangraha*, (Sanskrit com., with *Śrī-dharī* and Malayalam tr.), (Śrī Rāmakrishna Press), Elapulli, 1905.
- “S.S.”, *BG*, (Kamalālaya Bk. Dt.), Trivandrum, 1953.
47. TAMPURĀN, Kotunnallūr Kunnikkuttan, *Bhāṣhā-bhāratam*, (MBh, word-for-word, metre-for-metre tr.), 7 vols., (K. K. Tampām; Nat. Bk. St.), Kottayam, (1920), 1952-57; (S.P.C.S., Writers’ Coop. Soc.), Kottayam, 1965. The complete text is said to be translated in 874 days!
- “T.G.M.”, *BG*, (with Jnānopadeśam com.), (Śānta Bk. Stall), Guruvayur, 1953.
48. TĪRTHA, Bhūmānanda, *SBG sthita prajna darśanam*, (chs. 1-2, com.), (Jnānāśrama Publ., Geetha Press), Trichur, 1970; also *Bhaktidarśanam*, ch. 12, com.
49. TIRUMULPĀTU, K. Rāghavan, *SBG*, (metrical tr. and com.), Chalakudi, 1954 and 1968 (by “Vaidyabhūshanam, K. R. Thirumulpad”).
50. VĀRIYAR, Kannampula K. S. Krishna, *MBh*, (prose tr.), sev. vols., (Alliance Pr. Wks.), Trivandrum, 1953.
51. VARMA, Rājārāja, *Uttarabhārata* (MBh retold), n.d.
- VARMA, V. A., See RAVIVARMA.

#### 4.30. Translation into Khasi

Khasi is spoken by about 300,000 people in the Khasi and Jaintia Hill districts of Central Assam (on the Sino-Burmese border). It belongs

to the Mon-Khmer language group<sup>1</sup>. One translation of the BG is available: Shivcharan ROY, *BG* (in Roman characters), (Khasi Press), Shillong, 1903. The first biblical book in Khasi appeared in 1816.

#### 4.31. *Translation into Manipuri (and Tripuri)*

Belonging to the Tibeto-Burmese group, Manipuri is spoken by ca. 800,000 people, as a lingua franca among the tribes of Manipur (Assam). The Bengali script is used. One translation of the BG was prepared by the Sanskrit scholar PANDITARAJA ATOMBAPU 'Vidyaratna', n.d.

A translation into Tripuri may be found in the selections from the MBh: CHAKRABORTY, Santimoy, *Bharatni Panchali*, Education Directorate, Tripura, 1962.

#### 4.32. *Translation into Tibetan*

It is not unlikely that a translation of the complete BG into Tibetan was made at some time, although the main bulk of translations belongs to Buddhist literature. Many Buddhist works, lost in their original form in India, are preserved in Tibetan translation. The first Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit Buddhist text was prepared by Thonmi Sambhota in the 7th century. In the subsequent centuries a school of Tibetan translators was functioning in Lhasa. About 4,464 Indian works are said to have been translated. Cultural contacts between Tibet and India increased during the rule of the Pala dynasty in Bengal, leaving a strong Tantric impact on Sahajiya Buddhism and the Cāryapadas of the Siddhas. The complete history of the Indo-Tibetan relationship in mediaeval times has not yet been written, because many texts are still lying unpublished in manuscript form in Tibet, Ladakh and Nepal.

In the Gita-Press review *Kalyana-Kalpataru* (2, 1935, p. 249) there is a reference to A. CSOMA-DE-KOROS, *BG*, (Tibetan with English tr.), (Asiatic Soc. of Bengal), Calcutta, 1834.

Chapter 12 of the BG was rendered into Tibetan by CHHOPHELLA, Lama Gedna, *The Gītā: Bhaktiyoga*, (Ramakrishna Vedanta Ashram), Darjeeling, n.d.

1. C. F. and F. M. VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

With regard to other languages of the Mon-Khmer group, we are informed by Dr S. Pou (Leeds, UK) that no explicit renderings of the MBh or BG are found in the literature of Cambodia (see below, 6.38). It would appear that this epic is less known in continental South-East Asia than is the Rāmāyana, of which important paraphrases are found in the Khmer literature.



4.33-34. *Translation into Ho-Mundari and Santali*

The Munda languages, after Indic and Dravidian, constitute the next largest grouping of languages in India. A translation of the BG in Ho was recently prepared by Satiśa Kumār KORĀ.

An anonymous translation into Santali (of BG as well as MBh) is referred to by B. K. ROY BURMAN, ed., *Census of India, 1961: Bibliography of Publications in Tribal Languages*, New Delhi.

## CHAPTER V

### TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

English, while having far fewer native speakers than e.g. Chinese, is the most widely spoken language in the world, being the mother tongue or acquired language for almost one-fifth of the world's population. The relation between India and Britain is more than 300 years old, and considering the international interest in India's culture and literature, it is not surprising that English comes first in our survey of non-Indian languages, with about 273 translations of the BG (since 1785).

#### 5.1. *Historical survey*

The European approach to Hindu literature has not always been sympathetic. Bishop Caldwell remarks about the BG: "The style of the composition is flowing and elegant; but the philosophy taught is unsound, and the doctrine immoral. It is poison administered in honey."<sup>1</sup> But what lasts is the positive effect of an inter-cultural dialogue and this was initiated by pioneers like Sir William Jones, who died at the age of 48, at the end of a stay of ten years in India (1794).

"While he believed in Christ and Christianity, he was attracted to the Hindu concepts of the non-duality of God, as interpreted by Sankara, and the transmigration of the human soul . . . 'I am no Hindu; but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, more pious, and more likely to deter men from vice, than the horrid opinions, inculcated on punishments without end'."<sup>2</sup>

N. Halhed, a schoolmate of Jones, made the first indirect translation from Sanskrit. The first Governor-General of Bengal, Warren Hastings, requested some Hindu pandits to prepare a digest of Hindu Law. They composed a work of 21 chapters, called *Vivādārṇava-setu* (The Bridge over the Ocean of Disputes). When the work was ready, nobody could be found to translate it directly from Sanskrit into English. Consequently, a Persian version was made first, which was translated by

1. Bishop CALDWELL, *On Krishna and the BG*, Madras, 1895, p. 87.

2. D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 205.



Halhed into English: *A Code of Gentoo Law*, 1776. "This second-hand translation introduced the study of Sanskrit philology."<sup>3</sup>

Jones came to India in 1783, as Chief Justice of Fort William; in 1784 he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he remained the president and the editor of its journal 'Asiatic Researches' till his death in 1794. Four years after C. Wilkins' translation of the BG, Jones published his famous translation of *Sacontalā* or *The Fatal Ring* (1789), of which four reprints appeared before 1800. This drama was the first Sanskrit work to be rendered into European languages during the 19th century. To Jones also "belongs the credit of having been the first man who ever printed an edition of a Sanskrit text (although still in Roman characters). This was a short lyrical poem entitled *Ritusamhāra*, or *Cycle of the Seasons*, published in 1792."<sup>4</sup> In the same year, he published his English translation of the *Gītagovinda*, deserving the title of First Anglo-Indian Poet: "Anglo-Indian literature may be said to have been born in 1783, the year of arrival in India of Sir William Jones, the great Orientalist"<sup>5</sup>.

The combined efforts of Wilkins and Jones gave a strong impetus to further translation from Sanskrit. Coolebroke stayed in India for more than 30 years (died 1837) and translated a *Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions* (1797); in 1804 he edited the *Hitopadeśa*, with an introduction, and the *Amarakośa*, with marginal translation (1808). He also prepared a *Lexicon and Grammar of the Sanskrit Language* (1805) and undertook the difficult task of translating works on arithmetic and astronomy.

Together with J. Marshman, William Carey edited *The Ramayana of Valmeeki in the Original Sungskrit*, with a prose translation and explanatory notes (vol. 1, Serampore, 1806)<sup>6</sup>. H. H. Wilson came to India

3. *Ibidem*, p. 204.

4. A. MACDONNEL, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, (1900), 1928, p. 3.

5. E. F. OATEN, *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature*, London, 1908, p. 16.

6. The 'Advertisement' gives the following interesting directives:

"It is proposed to print the works in the Original Sungskrit, accompanied by a Translation as nearly literal as the genius of the two languages will admit . . . The Translators have only to observe, that a strict conformity to the original has been the object constantly kept in view. To this has been sacrificed not only the elegance of expression, but in some places perspicuity. A free Translation would have been an easier task: but esteeming it their duty to lay before the public, not only the story and machinery, but the imagery, the sentiment, and the very idiom of the poem, they have attempted this as far as the difference between the two languages would permit. And they trust a candid Public will excuse every defect of phraseology, when it is understood that the object has been to present the original poem in its native simplicity."

in the medical service of the East India Company. In 1813 he published his translation of Kalidāsa's *Meghadūta* (*The Cloud Messenger*) and *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, from the original Sanskrit. He also prepared the first *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1819) and was the first to occupy the Chair of Sanskrit in Oxford (1832). Amazingly, with this Chair, the British were lagging behind the French (first Chair, Paris, 1814) and Germany (first Chair, Bonn, 1818). The first Chair of Sanskrit in the United States was founded at the Yale University, in 1841.

During the same period, Rām Mohan Roy (1772-1833) published *Several Principal Books, Passages and Texts of the Vedas, and of some Controversial Works on Brahmical Theology* (2nd ed., London, 1832).

We conclude the short survey about translations during the period of the pioneers with a reference to the German scholar Max Müller (1823-1900) who never visited India but contributed greatly to the translation of Sanskrit literature as editor of *The Sacred Books of the East*.

Max Müller did not produce a translation of the BG; we have his rendering of the *Hitopadeśa* into German (1844) and English (1864). He also prepared a German translation of the *Meghadūta* and of parts of the Rig Veda, and an English translation of some Upanishads.

For the translators working for the Series, Max Müller prescribed strict fidelity to the original:

"The translator however, if he has once gained the conviction that it is impossible to translate old thoughts into modern speech, without doing some violence either to the one or to the other, will hardly hesitate in his choice between two evils. He will prefer to do some violence to language rather than misrepresent old thoughts by clothing them in words which do not fit them."<sup>7</sup>

Yet Whitney criticized him for his 'subjective' style:

"The learning or acuteness of this author, his power of ingenious and interesting illustration, no one will think of questioning; but for strictness of method, for consistency of views, for logical force and insight, he is much less distinguished; and he is sometimes carried away by a teeming fancy out of the region of sober investigation, or permits himself to be satisfied with hypotheses, and reasons for them that have only a subjective value."<sup>8</sup>

7. N. C. CHAUDHURI, *Scholar Extraordinary. The Life of Prof. Friedrich Max Müller*, OUP, Delhi, 1974, p. 354.

8. W. D. WHITNEY, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, (Scribner), New York, 1874, p. 208.



Max Müller defended the "originality" of his translations by emphasizing his independence from native commentators and thus from the current interpretations:

"If, as has been pointed out, my translation often differs from previous translations as to seem hardly based on the same original text, this is due chiefly to my venturing to steer a course independent of native commentators. I have little doubt that future translations of the *Upanishads* will assert their independence of Sankara's commentary still more decidedly. Native commentators though indispensable and extremely useful, are so much under the spell of the later systematic Vedanta philosophy that they often do violence to the simplest thoughts of ancient poets and philosophers."<sup>9</sup>

#### 5.1.a. Wilkins

The first book directly translated from Sanskrit is the *Bhagavad Gītā*<sup>10</sup>, by Sir Charles Wilkins (ca. 1750-1833) who published his translation under the title *The Bhagvat-Geeta* or "Dialogues of Kreeشنا and Arjoon, in eighteen lectures, with notes, translated from the original in the Sanskreet, or ancient language of the Brahmans, London, 1785". A new and improved edition appeared as "*Bhuguvud-geeta*, or Dialogues between Krishna and Arjuna, extracted from the Mahabarut, printed at Khizurpoor [near Calcutta], 1809".

Wilkins knew Persian, Bengali and Sanskrit. He was a founding member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (with J. Jones, 1784) and became the first librarian of the East India Company Library (later India Office Library), London. Besides the *Hitopadeśa* (1787), he also translated the *Śakuntalā* episode of the MBh (1794-95) and printed a *Sanskrit Grammar* (1808), for which he himself carved and cast the Devanāgarī type, used for the first time in Europe.

Introducing this translation to the Chairman of Directors, East India Company, Warren Hastings admits that there are redundant and obscure passages, but that these are mainly due to

"the subject itself, which is highly metaphysical, to the extreme difficulty of rendering abstract terms by others exactly corresponding with them in another language, to the arbitrary combination of ideas in words expressing unsubstantial qualities, and more, to the errors of interpretation. The modesty of the translator would induce him to defend the credit of his work, by laying all its apparent defects to his own charge."<sup>11</sup>

9. N. C. CHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

10. See A. MACDONNEL, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

11. Quoted in J. GARRETT, *BG*, 1846, Introduction, p. VII; see p. 224.

Convinced that the *Gitā* and the Indian scriptures "will survive when the British Dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist", Hastings expresses his admiration for the BG as a performance of great originality, of sublimity in conception, reasoning and diction. R. K. Dasgupta remarks about this Introduction:

"This was said in 1785 and said by a soldier and a colonial statesman with little reputation for learning and taste. But it is nevertheless, a very significant expression of western response to Indian literature. First, the estimate is made from a translation. Secondly, it exalts the work as great but takes care to insulate it from western literary standards. Thirdly, it is concerned more with the wisdom of the work than with its literary workmanship. The whole approach is primarily philosophical and in the case of a work like the BG it could not be otherwise."<sup>12</sup>

The aspects of Wilkins' translation criticized by later commentators throw light on the very difficult situation, both linguistic and theological, in which he had to work, and can only increase the respect we have for his achievement. Commenting on Adelung's remark about the *Hineininterpretierung* of Wilkins, the editor adds the following note:

"Adelung states that the missionary John, in a letter to Rüdiger, writes that Wilkins, in this version, has introduced many European notions not in the original, and entirely opposed to the Hindoo life and genius. Though I have found no other authority for this opinion, its correctness seems probable, if we consider how little then was known of the people, of their institutions and their literature. That free intercourse which has had a gradual growth between the learned caste of India and the literati of Europe, was then in its infancy. The priests guarded their sacred books with jealous care from strangers. The translator had to contend with the obscurities of a language, confessedly one of the most difficult to Europeans, and which the Brahmans spend their lives in studying. These circumstances and many others which might be enumerated, rendered the task of this venerable Sanscrit scholar tenfold more difficult than it would now be; and will lead us rather to wonder at his eminent success in the Herculean labour he undertook, than to carp at its slight blemishes."<sup>13</sup>

Nearly one century after its publication, Bower criticizes Wilkins for his dependence on vernacular scholars: "This translation for the time in which it was made, and as a first attempt, is not unworthy of praise. But it is apparent that the translator followed a vernacular gloss, and depended too much on the explanations of his pundit. Some of the

12. R. K. DASGUPTA, 'Western Response to Indian Literature', in *Indian Literature*, 10 (1967), 5.

13. F. ADELUNG, *An Historical Sketch of Sanscrit Literature*, (translated from German), Oxford, 1832, 94.



renderings are rather interpretations than translations, and the whole is pervaded by pre-conceived Christian ideas."<sup>14</sup> In his preface Wilkins acknowledges the obscurity of many passages and confusion of sentiments:

"It was the translator's business to remove as much of this obscurity and confusion as his knowledge and abilities would permit. This he hath attempted in his Notes; but . . . the text is but imperfectly understood by the most learned Brahmans of the present times . . . Some apology is also due for a few original words and proper names that are left untranslated, and unexplained. The translator was frequently too diffident of his own abilities to hazard a term that did but nearly approach the sense of this ancient people."<sup>15</sup>

The translator struggled also with orthography. Words like Pandoos (= Pāṇḍavas), goon (guṇa), prakreetee, moonees . . . are left untranslated.

For the sake of comparison, we quote the translations of verse 13.12 by Wilkins and by Chidbhavānanda (1965; 8th ed., 1975). For this verse, Wilkins adds a note: "Wherever the word *wisdom* is used in this translation, is to be understood *inspired wisdom*, or a knowledge of the Divine Nature. The original is *Gnān* or as it is written *Jnān*."

#### Wilkins

I will now tell thee what is *Gneya*, or the object of wisdom, from understanding which thou wilt enjoy immortality. It is that which hath no beginning, and is supreme, even *Brahm*, who can neither be called *Sat* (ens) nor *Asat* (non ens).

#### Chidbhavānanda

I shall describe that which has to be known, knowing which one attains to immortality. Beginningless is the Supreme Brahman. It is not said to be 'sat' or 'asat'.

A few more quotations from this first translation may not be out of place.

- 2.2 : Whence, O Arjoon, cometh unto thee, thus standing in the field of battle, this folly and unmanly weakness ? It is disgraceful, contrary to duty and the foundation of dishonour. Yield not thus to unmanliness, for it ill becometh one like thee. Abandon this despicable weakness of thy heart, and stand up.
- 2.47 : Let the motive be in the deed and not in the event. Be not one whose motive for action is the hope of reward. Let not thy life be spent in inaction.
- 3.4 : The man enjoyeth not freedom from action, from the non-commencement of that which he hath to do; nor doth he obtain happiness from a total inactivity.
- 5.2 : Both the desertion and the practice of works are equally the means of extreme happiness; but of the two the practice of works is to be distinguished above the desertion.

14. H. BOWER, *The BG*, (parallel English and Tamil tr.), Madras, 1889, p. XIV.

15. Quoted in J. GARRETT, *op. cit.*, pp. XV f.

- 18.57 : With thy heart place all thy works on me; prefer me to all things else; depend upon the use of thy understanding, and think constantly of me.
- 18.63 : Thus have I made known unto thee knowledge which is a superior mystery. Ponder it well in thy mind, and then act as it seemeth best unto thee.
- 18.66 : Forsake every other religion, and fly to me alone. . . .

#### 5.1.b. Thomson

We have to wait for seventy years before the second English translation appears, from the hand of J. Cockburn Thomson, a pupil of H. H. Wilson, under the title: *The BG or A Discourse between Krishna and Arjuna on divine matters* (A Sanskrit philosophical poem, translated with copious notes, an introduction on Sanskrit philosophy and other matter, Stephen Austin, Hertford, 1855). Along with it appeared his *BG or The Sacred Lay* (An episode from the MBh, Sanskrit edition in Devanāgarī).

Realizing that Wilkins has left too much untranslated<sup>16</sup>, Thomson shows a great zeal in translating everything, including proper names: Sinless One for *anagha* (epithet of Arjuna), Hairy One for Keśava and Holy One for Bhagavān<sup>17</sup>. At the same time, we find Thomson criticizing von Schlegel's Latin translation (see 6.1) for translating too much: "... it is to be regretted that in their zeal to correct the error in which their predecessor (Wilkins) had fallen, both master (von Schlegel) and pupil (C. Lassen) have gone too far, and attempted to translate much that had better have been left alone"<sup>18</sup>. Thus, with the first two translations of the BG we enter into the discussion between translators, defending either the literary or the literalistic view on translation (see above, Chapter II)<sup>19</sup>.

#### 5.1.c. Telang

The first Indian translator Telang (1875) followed the literal trend of translation of the 19th century: "My aim has been to make that trans-

16. "Of the original translation we cannot speak with entire satisfaction. Doubtless, as a first attempt, and with the slight knowledge of Hindu philosophy then at hand, it is praiseworthy; but it is defective in being *too little* translated. All words that present the slightest difficulty of rendering into English are left untranslated, and nothing but a short and barely sufficient note added to explain them." J. C. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XIX.

17. See H. BOWER, *BG*, 1885, p. XV.

18. J. C. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XX.

19. See also E. NIDA, 'The tradition of Translation in the Western world', in *Towards a Science of Translation*, Leiden, 1964, pp. 11-29.



lation as close and literal a rendering as possible of the Gita, as interpreted by the commentators Śankarācārya, Śrīdharasvāmin and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.”<sup>20</sup> His translation was selected to appear in the 8th volume of the Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Müller: *The BG with the Sanatsugātiya and the Anugītā*. Sir Edwin Arnold, who published his own translation ten years later, criticized Telang’s version for being too stiff: “Mr. Telang has also published at Bombay a version in colloquial rhythm, eminently learned and intelligent, but not conveying the dignity of grace of the original” (Preface of 1885). Comparing Telang and Arnold, Edgerton remarked in 1925: “The best in English from the literary point of view is Sir Edwin Arnold’s . . . This version does not aim at scholarly accuracy, and in details it often departs widely from the original. In my opinion the best scholarly translation in English is that of K. T. Telang.”<sup>21</sup> Telang’s advantage was that he could support his options with ready references to the Sanskrit commentators he had at hand, from Śankara to Nīlakantha. He could also refer to Mr Thomson’s translation, which he quotes frequently, while he borrowed some Latin words from Schlegel’s Latin version, like Theodotes, Triumphatrix and Dulcisona.

#### 5.1.d. Davies

For his translation of the BG, John Davies (1878) combines a high degree of fidelity and clarity with abundant philological notes. He relies on the existing Greek translation of Galanos, the Italian translation of S. Gatti, the French translation of Burnouf, the Latin translation of Von Schlegel-Lassen, and, of course, the 3 earlier translations in English. He remarks that Thomson’s translation shows the large advance made in the knowledge of Sanskrit, in the interval between the

20. K. T. TELANG, *BG*, Preface, p. 35.

21. F. EDGERTON, *BG*, Chicago, 1925, p. 97. Publishing his translation of the BG in the same year as Arnold, Bower has nothing but criticism for Telang’s translation:

“The author says that ‘the translation was originally undertaken as an exercise in versification, and not with a view to publication’. But as the Gita advanced in English verse, the author charmed with his own poetry thought that a metrical translation would represent better the Sanskrit original. But, however laudable the author’s attempt may be, yet, as the gods had not endowed him with the gift of poesy, he has not succeeded in producing a readable book. If the author had written in simple prose, with his scholarship and all the advantages at his command, he would have produced a more valuable work. He has also followed the vernacular, instead of the Sanskrit mode of expressing proper names, which somewhat detracts from the value of the work in the eyes of European Orientalists.”

H. BOWER, *op. cit.*, p. XVI.

publication of Wilkins' translation in 1785, and his own in 1855; but that it still contains many errors. As a comparison, we quote the translation of verse 3.43 from Davies and from Mascaro (1962):

Davies: 'Knowing, then, that this is greater than the mind, strengthen thyself by thyself, O large-armed one ! and slay this foe, which takes forms at will and is hard to meet.'

Mascaro: 'Know Him therefore who is above reason; and let his peace give thee peace. Be a warrior and kill desire, the powerful enemy of the soul.'

Davies adds in footnote an explanation of the term *durasadam*: "difficult of approach and therefore difficult to affect or control; 'Intractable' (Lassen and Thomson), 'dem schwer zu nahen, dem zu nahe zu kommen Gefahr bringt' (Petersburg Dictionary)". Why such multilingual references? One wonders also why Davies printed his text in paragraphs of 5 verses.

### 5.1.e. Ganguli

Justice has to be done to the real author of the second English translation of the BG by an Indian. Kisor Mohan Ganguli translated the Mahābhārata in 100 fascicules (1883-96), published by Pratap Chandra Roy. Ganguli withheld his name until the last fascicules of the serial publication had appeared, but in a subsequent edition the name of Ganguli was ignored and the translation wrongly attributed to Roy, the editor. Initially, Ganguli did in fact prefer to remain unknown, as appears from the Translator's post-script:

"Before, however, the first fascicules could be issued, the question as to whether the authorship of the translation should be publicly owned, arose. Babu Pratapa Chandra Roy was against anonymity. I was for it. The reasons I adduced were chiefly founded upon the impossibility of one person translating the whole of the gigantic work . . . I might not live to carry it out . . . It could not be desirable to issue successive fascicules with the names of a succession of translators appearing on the title pages."<sup>22</sup>

In a recent re-edition of the Series (1973), the publishers Munshiram Manoharlal rectify the mistake: "After going through the original edition in the National Library, Calcutta, and having been convinced that gross injustice was being done to the honour of the noble soul of the departed author (K. M. Ganguli), we have promptly arranged to publish anew, with true authorship and necessary rectifications, this world-famous work in its original form" (Preface).

22. Quoted in J. VAN BUITENEN, *The MBh*, 2nd vol., 1975, p. X.



Van Nooten evaluates the work of Ganguli in the Introduction of his own translation of the Mahābhārata (1971):

“It is a fascinating translation which the editor completed ‘in the fog end of the 19th century’, as he termed it, at the expense of great personal hardship. He rarely sold the copies, but gave them away and died before it was completed. The tone of the translation is solemn and moralistic, its style Gothic and at times impressive. But as a translation it is not always reliable.”<sup>22</sup>

### 5.1.f. Arnold

Spending many years in India, Sir Edwin Arnold published in 1860 his translation of the *Hitopadeśa*, in 1870 his world-famous ‘Light of Asia or The Great Renunciation’ on the life of Buddha, in 1875 his translation of Jayadeva’s *Gīta-Govinda* or ‘The Indian Song of Songs’, in 1883 his ‘Indian idylls from the Sanskrit of the MBh’, and finally in 1885 ‘*The Song Celestial* (or BG from the MBh, Being a discourse between Arjuna, Prince of India, and the Supreme Being under the form of Krishna)’. Arnold’s translation of the BG in blank verse is considered to be a classic, being reprinted frequently and translated in several European languages (see below, 5.6.31). He rendered the BG in blank verse because: “the Sanskrit original is written in the *Anushtubha* metre, which cannot be successfully reproduced for Western ears. I have therefore cast it into our flexible blank verse, changing into lyrical measures where the text itself similarly breaks” (Preface, p. VIII).

The most moving tribute to this translation comes from Mahātmā Gāndhī, who could not conceal how BG 2: 62-63, read in Arnold’s version, brought about a real conversion in him. We quote fully from *My Experiments with Truth*:

“Towards the end of my second year in England (1889), I came across two Theosophists, brothers, and both unmarried. They talked to me about the Gita; they were reading Sir Edwin Arnold’s translation — *The Song Celestial* — and they invited me to read the original with them. I felt ashamed, as I had read the Divine Poem neither in Sanskrit nor in Gujarati. I was constrained to tell them that I had not read the Gita, but that I would gladly read it with them, and that though my knowledge of Sanskrit was meagre still I hoped to be able to understand the original to the extent of telling where the translation failed to bring out the meaning. I began reading the Gita with them. The verses in the Second Chapter

‘ If one  
Ponders on objects of the sense, there springs  
Attraction; from attraction grows desire,  
Desire flames to fierce passion, passion breeds  
Recklessness; then the memory — all betrayed —

Lets noble purpose go, and saps the mind,  
Till purpose, mind, and man are all undone.'

made a deep impression on my mind, and they still ring in my ears ... I have read almost all the English translations of it, and I regard Sir Edwin Arnold's as the best. He has been faithful to the text, and yet it does not read like a translation."<sup>23</sup>

Edgerton 'classifies' Arnold's translation as being of no value to scholars.

### 5.1.g. Besant

In 1895 appeared the first translation of the BG by a woman. Annie Besant (1847-1933) was a British socialist leader and outspoken atheist before she came to India in 1893, where she became the protagonist of the Theosophical Society (founded in New York by Madame Blavatsky in 1875). The Society regarded India as the chief exponent of the transcendent unity of all religions and moved its headquarters to Adyar, near Madras. The theosophists considered the BG as a text-book of the universal religion and Besant's version has been translated frequently into European languages (see below, 5.6.51). A practical instrument for the study of the BG was prepared by Bhagavān Dās and published in 1905 with Sanskrit text, Besant's translation, a word-for-word translation, an introduction to the Sanskrit grammar and a complete concordance. In the Preface the purpose of this joint publication is explained:

"This edition of BG, the Lord's Song, has been prepared for use of those who, while studying this Indian Scripture mainly for sake of its priceless teachings, wish, being a little acquainted with Sanskrit, to utilise the text, thus gaining a fuller insight into the meaning than can be gained through a translation, and incidentally acquiring a better knowledge of that language also."

In Besant's translation we find for the first time the following three additions: *Gītā-māhātmyam* (Greatness of the Gītā) taken from the Śrīvarāha-purāṇa; secondly, a one-page Sanskrit text of the Gītā-Kar-

23. M. K. GANDHI, 'My Experiments with Truth', part I, ch. 20, in A. HINGORANI, ed., *The Teaching of the Gita*, Bombay, 1962, p. 1. Gandhiji relates the same event, yet more detailed in *Young India*, 12 Nov. 1925:

"My first acquaintance with the Gita was in 1889, when I was almost twenty ... My knowledge of Sanskrit was not enough to enable me to understand all the verses of the Gita unaided. The friends, of course, were quite innocent of Sanskrit. They placed before me Sir Edwin Arnold's magnificent rendering of the Gita. I devoured the contents from cover to cover and was entranced by it. The last nineteen verses of the Second Chapter have since been inscribed on the tablet of my heart ... I have since read many translators and many commentaries, have argued and reasoned to my heart's content, but the impression that the first reading gave me has never been effaced."



ādinyāsah or Arrangement of the Hands, i.e. instructions to set up relations between centres in man's body and the cosmic body of the Lord (the thumb symbolizes the earth, the index finger the water, the middle finger the fire, the fourth finger the air and the little finger the heavenly or *ātmik* forces); thirdly, the *Gītā-dhyānam* supplement of 9 verses is given, as an aid for prayerful reading and meditation.

#### 5.1.h. M. N. and R. C. Dutt

a. M. N. Dutt produced a literal prose translation of the complete Mahābhārata in 1897<sup>24</sup>. The BG or Chapters 24-42 of the *Bhīshmaparvan* are found on pp. 30-57; a separate edition of the BG was published by the Elysium Press in 1898.

Adams remarks about his translations: "Dutt's renderings, here as elsewhere, are wooden and not deeply reflective, but they are redeemed by honesty and consistency"<sup>25</sup>. The heaviness of M. N. Dutt's rendering is further increased by bracketed clarifications. Some of the most famous verses of the *Gītā* fail to impress: 'As a man, casting off worn-out clothes, puts on other new ones, so embodied Self, casting off old bodies, enters into other new ones' (2.22); 'Devotional feelings never arise in those, whose minds have been stolen by the word of the lovers of enjoyment and wealth' (2.44); 'Thus, O mighty-armed, knowing that which is greater than understanding, (i.e. Self), restraining Self by Self, destroy this unconquerable enemy: Desire' (3.43) and 'I take birth, age after age, for the protection of the good and the destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of piety (true religion)' (4.8).

b. For his condensed version of the Mahābhārata (1898) Ramesh Dutt chose an altogether different medium. Quoting S. Brooke's opinion, "of all possible translations of poetry, a mere prose translation is the most inaccurate", he explains why he made a versified translation:

"Much of the Sanskrit Epic is written in the well-known *Sloka* metre of sixteen syllables in each line, and I endeavoured to choose some English metre which is familiar to the English ear, and which would reproduce to some extent the rhythm, the majesty, and the long measured sweep of the Sanskrit verse... (Yet) the crisp and ornate style, the quaint expression, the chiselled word, the new-coined phrase, in which modern English poetry is rich, would scarcely suit the translation of an old Epic whose predominating characteristic is its simple and easy flow of narrative."<sup>26</sup>

24. He also rendered into English Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana*, selections from the *Dharma Śāstra* and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.

25. C. ADAMS, *A Reader's Guide to the great Religions*, New York, 1966, p. 61.

26. R. C. DUTT, *The Rāmāyana and the MBh*, edition of 1966, p. 327.

## 5.1.i. The 20th century

Hundreds of different translations of the BG into English appeared during the 20th century. In these we discern a "radical change in translation principles"<sup>27</sup>, namely a gradual transition from literal to free translation and from emphasis on form to concentration on context. Attention is shifted from the details of wording in the original to the means by which the same message can be effectively communicated to present-day readers. The impact of Tilak's action-orientated Marathi translation (see above, p. 202) has been considerable: the English translation was made by B. S. Sukthankar (3 vols., Poona, 1935-36), who had great respect for Tilak's contribution, because "previous commentators preached only a path of indifference to the world with the effect of filling the devotees of the Gītā with apathy".

With a strong emphasis on the message of action, even at the price of giving up the literal meaning, Goyal published *The Living MBh* (1975), with *Arjuna's dejection and the Lord's Song*, a condensed version of the BG in three pages.

The most popular edition of the Gītā in Hindi was produced by the Gita-Press at Gorakhpur. The English edition of 1964 bears this note by the publisher:

"The English translation of this edition has been based on the Hindi rendering of the Gita made by Syt. Jayadayal Goyandka and appearing in the Gita-Tattva Number of the Hindi monthly 'Kalyan', published by the Gita Press. In preparing the present English translation, the translators have made use, every now and then, of other English translations of the Gita, and express their grateful acknowledgement to the same ..."

## 5.2. Translations by scholars, svāmīs and poets

a. With the translation of the BG by F. Edgerton (1925) we encounter a modernized, scholarly approach, found also in the translations of S. Radhakrishnan (1948), E. Wood (1954), J. Mascaro (1962), R. C. Zaehner (1966), E. Deutsch (1968), A. Bahm (1970), A. L. Herman (1973), E. G. Parrinder (1974), A. T. de Nicolas (1976) and others.

Franklin Edgerton's translation (1925) finds no parallel for its syllable-by-syllable accuracy and dispassionate judgment. An earnest scholar, who was highly praised for his translation of the *Pancatantra* (1924),

27. E. NIDA, *op. cit.*, p. 21. See also 'Translating means communicating: a socio-linguistic theory of translation' in *Bible Translation*, 30 (1979), No. 1, 101-7.

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Edgerton considers the *Gītā* to be a poetic, mystical and devotional book. In the Preface to his translation he remarks:

“While the translation is fairly literal, I hope it is not un-English, nor yet unfaithful to the style and spirit of the original . . . I do not know how many times I have read the entire *Gita*; thirty or forty times at least. More important is the fact that I have worked over most of it minutely with students (any teacher knows what that means) at least fifteen to twenty times, trying to exact the meaning of every particle . . . I feel that I have now reached the saturation point, as far as this text is concerned. It is unlikely that ‘this person’ can ever progress much farther towards the understanding of it. Let this stand, then, simply as a record of the best that *one* western Sanskritist could do with the *Gita*, after half a lifetime of the most earnest effort.”

About Edgerton’s translation, Bolle<sup>28</sup> remarks:

“The result is marvellous for students trying to plow their way through the text, but, naturally, whatever beauty there is in the English, is purely coincidental . . . If in the future a synopsis of BG translations will be published, side by side, then Edgerton’s will certainly be included. He is indispensable, he forces the reader back to the original.”

S. Radhakrishnan’s translation appeared in 1948 and was soon translated into French and German, and later into Hindi and Bengali. Along with a clear Roman transliteration of the *ślokas*, he presents a polished translation which leaves no doubts about the precise meaning. Clarifications are added between brackets and the commentary is not overburdening. His insights are clear, based on a rational analysis of interpretations and coloured by a humanist syncretism. A large quantity of comparative material is also given, without, however, forcing the reader to agree with the conclusions about trends of similarity in the history of spirituality. The ethical bias of the version is not disturbing although it is often difficult to discern when the translator moves from exegesis to homily.

When preparing his translation of the *Gītā*, Zaehner (1966) wanted to follow the track of those predecessors who were primarily interested in the contents of the *Gītā* and not in what *they* thought the contents *ought* to be, in other words, concerned with what the *Gītā* actually said and not what others said it said. He considers the right approach to be (quoting E. Lamotte, *Notes sur la Gita*) “putting as little as possible of oneself into it . . . considering it as a whole that should be explained by itself and by the milieu out of which it grows”<sup>29</sup>. Yet, he aims not

28. K. BOLLE, *BG*, pp. 228 and 239.

29. R. C. ZAEHNER, *BG*, ed. 1972, p. 1.

merely at producing an accurate translation, leaving it to the reader to interpret the book as best as he can. He adds notes for "theologically important alternative translations", admiring Hill's translation (1928) for being very well annotated, "much more readable than Edgerton's which is literal as sometimes to be barely comprehensible, and his notes are again fuller".

At the same time, Zaehner accuses most recent translations, particularly the more popular ones, of not being accurate: "by being both inaccurate and theologically biased, a very false view of what the Gītā actually says has been passed off on an unsuspecting public"<sup>30</sup>. With a concern for precision, and aiming at a clear exposition of the multiplicity of meanings, Zaehner presents his version in three forms: (a) an accurate and readable translation, without apparatus or notes; (b) the same version, along with explanatory notes and the Sanskrit original; (c) ample quotations from the translation according to topics.

Parrinder's translation (1974) is the result of twelve years' work. Given in the original eight-syllable metre, the translation is clarified by marginal commentary in order to help the reader over the more complex passages and to explain names and references unfamiliar in the West. A quotation of verses 18.2-6 illustrates the quality of this translation:

Renouncing actions of desire  
is what Renunciation meant,  
abandoning rewards of acts  
the wise have called Abandonment.

Some wise men say every action  
must all be given up as ill,  
others say that acts of worship,  
penance and alms you must fulfil.

Listen to my own decision  
in this business of Abandonment  
for in such a manner is declared  
a threefold self-abandonment.

You must do and not abandon  
austerity, alms and sacrifice,  
for sacrifice, alms and austerity  
are acts that purify the wise.

However, these actions must be done  
always abandoning reward  
and attachment, for this judgment  
is my supreme and final word.

30. R. C. ZAEHNER, *Ibidem*, p. 4.



b. In contrast with the previous section, Svāmī Prabhavānanda and C. Isherwood (1944) clearly define their position as interpreter-translators:

“Extremely literal translations of the Gita already exist. We have aimed, rather, at an interpretation. Here is one of the greatest religious documents of the world: let us not approach it too pedantically, as an archaic text which must be jealously preserved by university professors. It has something to say, urgently, to everyone of us. We have to extract that message from the terseness of the original Sanskrit... Nevertheless, our work is not a paraphrase. Except in a very few difficult passages, it faithfully follows the original (Translator’s Preface).”

This quality of the translation seems to have appealed to Browne, editor of *The World’s Great Scriptures*<sup>31</sup>. Louis Renou ranks the translation of Prabhavānanda and Isherwood among the ‘belles infidèles’—an expression based on the witty comment of an early Renaissance Italian writer: “translations are like women: lovely when they are faithful and unfaithful when they are lovely”<sup>32</sup>.

The person paraphrasing tends to forget that one has to respect the letter if one wants to be faithful to the message. We compare the rendering of verse 9.1 in Prabhavānanda-Isherwood and Zaehner:

Since you accept me and do not question, now I shall tell you that innermost secret: knowledge of god which is nearer than knowing, open vision direct and instant. Understand this and be free for ever from birth and dying with all their evil.

But most secret-and-mysterious is this wisdom I will [now] reveal, —[a wisdom] based on holy writ and consonant with experience: to you [will I proclaim it] for in you there is no envy; and knowing it you shall be freed from ill.

31. “It is easy to understand why the Gita has been more widely translated than any other Asiatic document. In English alone there are scores of versions, most of them either too pedantic to be comprehensible, or too casual to be trustworthy. A most happy exception is the very recent version by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood... (1946). In a noteworthy introduction to this version, Aldous Huxley writes, ... ‘we should be grateful to Swami Prabhavananda and Mr. Isherwood for having given us this new version of the book — a version which can be read, not merely without that dull aesthetic pain inflicted by all too many English translations from the Sanskrit, but positively with enjoyment’.”

L. BROWNE, *The World’s Great Scriptures*. An anthology of the sacred books of the 10 principal religions (Babylonia, Egypt, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism), Macmillan, New York, 1961, pp. 97ff.

32. See L. RENOU, *Sanskrit et Culture*, pp. 72ff.

K. BOLLE, *op. cit.*, p. 233, calls this “probably the most ‘flowing’ of all English renderings. Unfortunately, it distorts the text considerably.”

The joint translation has also been accused of perverting the original religious message. In his view, Adams writes: "This rendering has great, literary charm, but it obscures the Vaishnava character of the book by tendentious interpretation and even deliberate interpolation, in the interest of subordinating it to advaita doctrine"<sup>33</sup>.

About a dozen English translations of the BG have been prepared by svāmīs: Svāmī Svarūpānanda (1909), Svāmī Paramānanda (1913), Svāmī Śivānanda (1933, Śivānanda Ashram, Rishikesh), Svāmī Nikhilānanda (1944), Svāmī Vireśvarānanda (1948), Svāmī Premānanda (1949), Svāmī Chinmayānanda (1959), Svāmī Chidbhavānanda (1965), Svāmī Prabhupāda Bhaktivedānta (1968), Svāmī Abhedānanda (1969) and others.

Translations by svāmīs have the great advantage that they are grown out of meditation and a concrete dialogue with disciples; moreover, most Indian svāmīs are traditionally well acquainted with Sanskrit and with Hindu scriptures. Svāmī Svarūpānanda, who died at the age of 38, prepared his version, in 1903, with the collaboration of brother *sanyasins* and some Western disciples of Svāmī Vivekānanda. The posthumous edition of 1909 has had 12 re-editions and revisions. The Gita-circles around e.g. Svāmī Chinmayānanda are famous all over India.

At the same time, over-interpretation and a lack of acquaintance with Western philosophy inherent in the English language render some of these translations unreliable:

"Interpreters of the BG have also fallen into the scientific habit of equating Sanskrit grammar and word structure with ordinary English, forgetting that these words belong to different intentionality structures. Thus we find even in the most scholarly efforts definitions and translations of the BG equated with Western religious and ethical language on a one to one correspondence . . . Names like God, egotism, ethics, nature, spirit, soul, etc., etc., have no equal function in Hindu tradition, Sanskrit language, or Hindu norms of behaviour as they do in western texts. No wonder that works like *The BG as it is*, author A. C. Bhaktivedānta Svāmī Prabhupāda (New York, Collier Books, 1972) are even possible in spite of the complete disregard for the Sanskrit language the author says he translates from. Example: *dharmakshetre*, *kurukshetre* is translated as 'Place of Pilgrimage.'<sup>34</sup>

c. Whereas the svāmīs are tempted to make the translation suit their deep insights, which they try to communicate to their disciples in drawn-

33. C. ADAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

34. A. DE NICOLAS, *Avatara*, 1976, p. 420.



out commentaries full of serene wisdom, the 'Gitā-poets' are tempted to enhance the text with poetical beauty of their own ingenuity, e.g. K. P. Bahadur, Nataraja Guru, Subodh Chandra Lahiri, Puroshottam Lal, Kumar Kishore Mohanty, Baburao Patel, Dilip Kumar Roy, Nehal Chand Vaish and others.

For P. Lal's translational recreation of the BG, see below, p. 277, n.

When Dilip Kumar Roy, author of ca. 60 books in English and Bengali, brought out *The BG, A Revelation* (1974), his translation in English blank verse was hailed as a 'literary miracle'.

Quite original is the literary adaptation of the BG to music, by Wesley La Violette (1945, rev. ed. 1955). The Prologue states:

"In this version, all names and symbols are intentionally omitted or freely interpreted. In order not to confuse the reader in the western world with the many Indian proper names in the original, and to clarify the teachings, this rendition of the BG is presented in English free verse as an interpretation and not a translation. The commentary is an integral part of the text."

A few introductory lines depict the opening scenery: "The progress and philosophy of the battle is told to the old blind king of the defenders, by a retainer named Sanjaya . . . When the dialogue opens, prince Arjuna, filled with despair, is speaking to Krishna by his side." And then the poetic interpretation starts:

Alas, O Master:  
Since I have seen the mighty armies  
of our enemies, comprising such a vast array of experienced  
fighting men, and chiefs whose unstained names already are  
synonyms for bravery, for cunning and for strength;  
While on our side are gathered under my command  
the greatest warriors of our people . . . .

The adaptation is sometimes far-fetched and artificial; e.g. BG 10.13f:

"Your mysterious presence here in  
earthly form, Christ-consciousness incarnate  
as a man, supernal Spirit manifest in flesh."

### 5.3. Recent methodic approaches

a. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN produced a fine rendering of Rāmānuja's Gitā-commentary and was fully occupied translating with his entire team the complete MBh according to the Poona critical edition. Van Buitenen made a special study of the BG, according to Bhāskara's text. His MBh-volumes appeared in "the most polished, readable, and

absorbing English", with a wealth of apparatus for dealing with the text, and summaries of sections, notes and cross-references<sup>35</sup>.

b. In the recent translation of K. BOLLE<sup>36</sup> we find elaborate notes on translations of the BG, along with remarkably progressive views on the principles of Dynamic Equivalence translation (see above, 2.3.a). He states that "a translation should speak for itself", that it should not appear as "a translated religious text", but should be "readable by itself". To the question "Why a new translation", he retorts with a counter-question: "How could we possibly have enough translations of a classical religious text of overwhelming importance? This century has seen dozens of translations into Western languages alone of the Bible, and no one would suggest that the 'final' translation has been arrived at or ever will be ... New translations are the only clear sign that we want to understand."

The translator should really aim at "a good translation", and learn from past experiences. "From the beginning of Western Sanskrit studies all serious translations addressed themselves principally to an erudite audience, and I think that we should place this fact among the unintentional causes for the production of so many mediocre or bad versions of the text" (p. 225).

Early translators of the BG left many crucial words like *yoga*, *moksha*, *brahman*, etc., untranslated, thus leading to misinterpretation. Choices have to be made for these terms, even if translated in different ways in different contexts; for "translating means making the first and basic step in interpreting" (p. 226).

Bolle criticizes most Sanskrit translators in English for their "unjustifiable literalism". The natural abilities of the language should be used: "most serious translations are marred by an overdose of passive forms. Active verb forms make the text much livelier" (p. 230). Instead of agent nouns, like "worker, doer", direct statements are more natural: "he made, did all this". Rephrasing and restructuring are unavoidable, particularly for an English translation.

After having dealt with some "external questions of translating", Bolle analyses the inner attitudes, which are often shallow and biased. He quotes v. 15.6 from Bhaktivedanta's translation: "That Abode of

35. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, tr. and ed., *MBh*, vol. 1: The Book of the Beginning; vol. 2: The Book of the Assembly Hall and The Book of the Forest, Univ. Press, Chicago, 1973-75.

36. K. BOLLE, *The BG. A New Translation*, University of California, Berkeley, 1979; part 2: On Translating the BG (219-258), Bolle admits that he is influenced by van Buitenen, under whose guidance he read the BG for the first time.



Mine is not illumined by the sun or the moon, nor by electricity". *Pāvaka* (fire) is rendered as 'electricity', and *paramam*, qualifying the Lord's 'Supreme' Abode, is left untranslated.

In this way translators show lack of respect for the original text. At the same time there was often an unconscious feeling of superiority vis-à-vis the Hindu text. "A good deal of Western work on the BG was done during the period of European colonialism . . . The time did not foster an attentiveness, a willingness to listen to what Hindu texts said" (p. 237).

The third area considered by Bolle is that of the meaning to be transmitted in translation. In fact, translating is a practical exercise in hermeneutics; it tries to understand. "The BG is a text with religious authority, and of texts of that character, more than of wordy poetry, it can be said that they are meant to be understood" (p. 239). Not only the original context, but also the actual setting and the tradition are to be investigated; "Indian traditions emphatically include the language of the text itself, Sanskrit, its Vedic roots, and the commentaries of Śāṅkara and of Rāmānuja" (p. 239).

Consequently, there will be a variety of translations, depending on the background, level and intent of a particular passage. There can be no consistency or uniformity from beginning to end. E.g. Bolle translates *dharmān* in BG 18:66 as: passing beyond "appearances" (in the sense of a Pāli meaning of *dhamma*, compared with the ultimate reality). Bolle also defends his personal interpretation of *karman*, which is to be understood in the context of the author's attempt at rectifying ritual practice. "The subject of ritual and sacrifice is generally among the most neglected subjects in BG translations" (p. 234, see also pp. 239ff, 250ff). Thus he arrives at a novel version of BG 6.2:

"What people call renunciation  
is really liturgical discipline;  
For a man acquires no discipline whatever  
without detaching himself from the purpose of the ritual"  
(Know that as yoga, O Pandava, which is called Sanyasa; for none  
becomes a yogi without renouncing Sankalpa — Chidbhavānanda)

However, a particular interpretation like this cannot be forced upon all passages: we have "to try out a 'catholic', all-encompassing translation, which, like the original, will allow various interpretations".

Finally, the meaning of the text should not only be understood against the background of Indian tradition, it should also be made clear in the language of one's own religious heritage, for the readers of today. There is a confrontation of languages: the word 'sacrifice' is not just an equivalent for modern 'worship'. "We do have to select our words

carefully in the work of translating, for the basic ideas of the Indian text and of the language in our own religious heritage hardly ever cover each other completely" (p. 247). "... in our world, the vocabulary, the teachings, the heart of Indian traditions should not be ignored, but received, encountered, reflected on" (p. 248).

c. In the most recent translation under study, G. FEUERSTEIN seems to swing back to a more conservative interpretation of the science of translation<sup>37</sup>.

In his "Note on the translation" (pp. 47-51), he defends his faithful rendering:

"This translation differs from most others in two important respects. Firstly, it is based on a critical analysis of the text matter in its wider religio-philosophical context. And secondly, it is far more literal than previous renderings in order to preserve as much of the idiosyncrasy and intended meaning of the original as possible. In the past several translators have objected against such a procedure. Their main argument was always that literalness necessarily obscures the meaning of the text. But more often than not this objection merely served as an excuse for avoiding a critical examination of both text and context" (p. 47).

Placing his own renderings at the end of a quick survey of translations, he distinguishes six major approaches; as is usually done, he too ignores the experiments and experiences of Indian vernacular translators, during the last four centuries:

(1) The earliest attempts (from the time of C. Wilkins, 1785) gave rise to a *philological*/antiquarian approach, chiefly concerned about grammatically accurate representation (Von Schlegel, Telang, Edgerton...).

(2) Another group of translators adheres to a *traditionalist* outlook, but is less critical of the textual and semantic complexities of the BG. Most renderings in this category stick to the guiding principles of Śankarācārya.

(3) In reaction to the literalistic antiquarian approach is a more spiritual, *symbolic* treatment of the text. A late representative of

37. G. FEUERSTEIN, *The BG. Yoga of Contemplation and Action* (H. R. Gupta & Sons for Arnold-Heinemann), New Delhi, 1980.

Such return to the "original", due to dissatisfaction with, or lack of confidence in, modern "dynamic equivalence" versions, is also noticeable in recent reactions against the New English Bible or the Good News Bible. Jakob Van Bruggen, *The future of the Bible* (Thomas Nelson), Nashville, New York, 1978, feels that the old King James version is still a more reliable translation because of its faithfulness to form and its loyalty to the text.



this symbol-oriented approach, at the cost of textual analysis, would be Krishna Prem (com. 1969).

(4) The *poetic* approach shows the same disinterest in the accuracy of meaning, because of its concern for the aesthetic value of the text, e.g. Arnold, Mascaro.

(5) Even further removed from the original meaning of the BG is the spawning *popular* literature which is lacking in interpretative power, accuracy and beauty.

(6) In contrast with this flood of uncritical publications has risen a new scholarly, and universalistic approach: "While paying due attention to text and context, they also remain sensitive to the conceptual universe of the BG and any symbolic component it may possess". One example is R. C. Zaehner. And G. Feuerstein himself wants to proceed further in this line: "The present translation is intended as a specification of R. C. Zaehner's comprehensive study in which he endeavoured to 'illuminate one part of the Gītā by another'. At the same time it is a continuation of his exegesis which at times does not prospect deep enough."

G. Feuerstein is particularly criticizing Mascaro's translation. Yet, even the version of R. C. Zaehner is sometimes "too poetic for the dominantly metaphysical setting of the BG", e.g. when he renders *bhāvasamanvitā* in v. 10: 8 by "filled with warm affection", whereas G. Feuerstein prefers: "endowed with (My) state-of-being".

Like Prof. Zaehner, G. Feuerstein resorts to several "devices", which have to initiate the reader into the accurate meaning: e.g. the hyphen is used for compound words, like "own-being" (for *sva-bhāva*) and also explicitions, like "son-of-Bharata" (for *Bhārata*). Square brackets also convey an implied meaning, or add a needful explanatory word not found in the original; round brackets are used for all Sanskrit terms, added to "clarify" the text. An attempt is also made to be consistent in rendering the same Sanskrit term by the same English equivalent. Yet, the translator admits that sometimes one English word may occur for two Sanskrit words, like Self (or self) for *ātman* and *purusha*.

#### 5.4. Samples of BG 1.1

In the following list of 75 quotations, we find interesting differences in the translation of terms. The very first word of the BG, *dharmakshetre*, is split up as *dharma* and *kshetra*, the latter usually being rendered as *field*, *plain* or *ground*. Two translators render *dharmakshetre* as *the field of the working out of dharma*, and in three early translations the term is simply omitted. The term *dharma* is left untranslated in 5 texts, all of a

recent date (1946-77) and is rendered by the adjective *holy* (19=28%) or *sacred* (21=30%), or by the following nouns: *right* (6=8%), *righteousness* (4=6%), *religious activity* (2=3%), *law* (1), *righteous war* (1), *duty* (1), *religious ceremonies* (1), *truth* (1), *justice* (1), *morality* (1) and *pilgrimage* (1).

Most translators render *kurukshetre* as *the field of Kuruksetra* (28) or as *the field of Kuru* (3), *the Kuru field* (6), *the plain of Kuru* (1), *the plain of the Kurus* (1) or *Kuru's field* (2), also as *Kooroo-ksetre* (1) or *Kurukshetra* (3).

Charles WILKINS, 1785: Tell me, O Sanjay, what the people of my own party, and those of the Pāndoos, who are assembled at kooroo-kshetra resolved for war, have been doing.

J. C. THOMSON, 1855: What did my followers and those of Pāṇḍu do, when assembled for the purpose of fighting on the sacred plain, the plain of Kuru, Sanjaya ?

K. T. TELANG, 1875:

What did my party and the Pāṇdavs do,  
Oh Sanjaya ! When upon the Holy field  
Of Kurukshetra, longing for the fight,  
They met together ?

K. T. TELANG, 1882: What did my (people) and the Pāṇdavas do, Oh Sanjaya ! When they assembled together on the holy field of Kurukshetra, desirous to do battle ?

John DAVIES, 1882: When my forces and the Pāṇḍavas met together on the sacred plain, the Kurukshetra (plain of the Kurus), eager for the fight, what did they, Sanjaya ?

K. M. GANGULI, 1883-96: Assembled together on the sacred plain of Kurukshetra from desire of fighting what did my sons and the Pandavas do, O Sanjaya ?

Edwin ARNOLD, 1885: Ranged thus for battle on the sacred plain — On Kurukshetra — Say, Sanjaya ! Say what wrought my people, and the Pandavas ?

Annie BESANT, 1895: On the holy plain, on the field of Kuru, gathered together, eager for battle, what did they, O Sanjaya ! my people and the Pāṇḍavas ?

P. D. MITRA, 1896: What, O Sanjaya, did my sons and those of Pāṇḍu do, assembled on the holy plains of Kurukshetra, eager to fight ?

“Geeta-English”, 1896: O Sanjay ! (tell me) assembled to engage in battle, on the holy plains of Kurukshetra, what my own people and the Pandavas did.



Manmatha Nath DUTT, 1897: What did my sons and the Pandavas do, O Sanjaya, when desirous of battle they all assembled on the holy field of Kurukshetra ?

A. M. SHASTRI, 1897: What did Pāṇḍu's sons and mine do when they assembled together on the sacred plain of Kurukshetra, eager for battle, O Sanjaya ?

Jogindranath MUKHARJI, 1900: O Sanjaya, what did mine and Pāṇḍu's sons do, gathered together ready for fight on the Holy Plain, on Kurukshetra ?

L. D. BARNETT, 1905: Meeting for strife in the Field of the Law, the Kuru-Field, what did my men and Pāṇḍu's folk, O Sanjaya ?

S. S. RAU, 1906: On the field of Kurus, which promotes righteousness, what did they, O Sanjaya, my people (my sons) and the Pandavas who eager for battle had (there) met together ?

Yogi RAMACHARAKA, 1907: Tell me, O Sanjaya, of my people and the Pandus, assembled in battle array on the plain of the Kurus ! What have they been doing ?

F. T. BROOKS, 1909:

On Kuru's Field, the Field of Right  
met face to face, athirst for war,  
Tell me, Sanjaya, what they did, —  
my people, and the Pāṇḍavas.

R. N. ROW, 1909: What did they, Oh ! Sanjaya ! my people and the Pandavas, gathered together eager for battle, on the sacred ground of Kurukshetra ?

Swami SVARUPANANDA, 1909: Tell me, O Sanjaya ! Assembled on Kurukshetra, the centre of religious activity, desirous to fight, what indeed did my people and the Pāṇḍavas do ?

C. C. CALEB, 1911:

On Kuru's field, the field of Right,  
When face to face on war intent,  
What were the deeds, O Sanjay, say,  
My people and the Pāṇḍu's wrought ?

Swami PARAMĀNANDA, 1913: O Sanjaya, assembled together on the sacred plain of Kurukshetra, being desirous to fight, what did my people and the Pāṇḍavas do ?

M. R. B. RANGĀCĀRYA, 1915: The men of my party and the Pāṇḍavas, who, desirous of fighting in war (against one another), met together on the holy plain of Kurukshetra — what did they do, O Sañjaya ?

Swami ABHEDANANDA, 1921: Assembled together on the sacred field of Kurukshetra, and eager to fight, what did my sons and those of Pandu do, O Sanjaya ?

AUROBINDO, 1928: On the field of Kurukshetra, the field of the working out of the Dharma, gathered together, eager for battle, what did they, O Sanjaya my people and the Pandavas ?

W. D. HILL, 1928: On the Field of Right, the Kuru-Field, assembled, eager to fight, what did my warriors and the warriors of Pāṇḍu, O Sanjaya ?

S. TATTVABHUSHAN, S. V. BHAGAVATARATNA, 1929: O Sanjaya, what have my sons and those of Pāṇḍu, assembled in the sacred plain of Kurukshetra for the purpose of fighting, done today ?

D. S. SARMA, 1930: On Kurukshetra, the field of righteous war, when my people and the Pandavas had assembled together eager for the impending battle, what did they do, O Sanjaya ?

E. J. THOMAS, 1931: Assembled on the field of right, the Kuru field, eager for battle, what did my people and the sons of Pāṇḍu do, O Sanjaya ?

N. C. VAISH, 1931:

On the holy plain of Kurukshetra  
Assembled together battle minded  
Mine and the sons of Pandu what did they ?  
O Sanjaya.

J. S. S. SIVANANDA, 1933: What did Pandavas and also my people do when they assembled together on the holy plain of Kurukshetra, desirous to fight, O Sanjaya ?

B. S. SUKTHANKAR, 1935 (B. G. Tilak): O Sañjaya, what did my sons and the sons of Pāṇḍu, desirous of war, do, when they assembled together, on the sacred field, the Kurukṣetra ?

Svami PUROHIT, 1935: O Sanjaya ! What happened on the sacred battle field of Kurukshetra, when my people gathered against the Pāṇḍavās ?

S. J. K. RĀJVAIDYA, 1937: O Sanjaya, what are my sons (Duryodhana etc.) and the sons of Pandu doing in the holy field of Kurukshetra, where all the Kshatriyas have gathered together.

T. S. BON, 1938: Said Dhritarāstra,

“ O Sanjaya ! What did Duryodhana  
And my other sons and the Pāṇḍavas,  
Led by Yudhisthira, do when, intent on giving battle  
they assembled on the sacred field of Kurukshetra ?”

Swami PRABHAVANANDA, C. ISHERWOOD, 1944: Tell me, Sanjaya, what my sons and the sons of Pandu did, when they gathered on the sacred field of Kurukshetra eager for battle ?



A. S. P. AYYAR, 1946: Assembled together on the field of Kurukshetra, the abode of Dharma, eager for battle, what did they do, my people and the Pandavas, oh Sanjaya ?

M. DESAI, 1946: Tell me, O Sanjaya, what my sons and Pandu's assembled, on battle intent, did on the field of Kuru, the field of duty.

F. EDGERTON, (1925) 1946:

In the Field of Right, the Kuru-field,  
Assembled ready to fight,  
My men and the sons of Pāṇḍu as well,  
What did they do, Saṁjaya ?

S. RADHAKRISHNAN, 1948: In the field of righteousness, the field of the Kurus, when my people and the sons of Pāṇḍu had gathered together, eager for battle, what did they do, O Sanjaya ?

Swami VIRESWARĀNANDA, 1948: Gathered on the holy plain of Kurukshetra O Sanjaya, what did my sons and the sons of Pāṇḍu, eager to fight, do ?

M. RAMACHANDRA, 1948: O Sanjaya, what did my people and the Pandavas, gathered eager for battle, do on that holy field, the Kurukshetra ?

R. S. R. BANSILAL, 1953: Tell me, O Sanjaya ! What did my people and Pandus do, gathered together eager to fight on the field of Kurukshetra, the field of the working out of Dharma.

P. S. MEHRA, 1954: O Sanjaya, on the sacred plain, the field of Kuru, gathered together, anxious for war, what did my people and the Pandavas do ?

D. STEPHEN, 1956: On the holy field, on the field of the Kurus, met together, desiring battle, what did my people and the Pandavas do ! O Sanjaya ?

R. S. TAKI, 1957: (Tell me) O Sanjaya !, what did my own (sons) and those (who may be called) of Pandu too do, when they met face to face, eager for war, on the holy field of Kurukshetra ?

V. L. NARAYANAN, 1957: What should people do in the field of life, in the battle of Righteousness ?

S. K. BELVALKAR, (1943) 1959: On that holy (battle) field — at Kurukṣetra — foregathered, (and) lusting for combat, what did mine own (sons) and sons of Pāṇḍu do, O Sanjaya ?

B. BOSE, 1959: O Sanjaya, mustered on Kurukshetra, the field (noted) for religious ceremonies (hence holy), what did my (sons) and the sons of Pandu too, wishing to make war, do ?

Swami CHINMAYANANDA, 1959: What did the sons of Pandu and also my people do when they assembled together on the holy plain of Kurukshetra, desirous to fight, O Sanjaya ?

Natarāja GURU, 1961: In the righteousness-field, the field of Kurus, gathered together, intent on battle, what did my people and also the sons of Pāṇḍu do, O Saṁjaya ?

J. BONNERJEE, 1962: Dhritarashtra asked Sanjaya to tell him what the warriors, who assembled in the holy field of Kurukshetra both on his side and on the side of the Pāṇḍavas did.

J. MASCARO, 1962: On the field of Truth, on the battle-field of life, what came to pass, Sanjaya, when my sons and their warriors faced those of my brother Pandu ?

B. PATEL, 1962: Dhritarashtra said,  
“How fared the Pandavas and my people in Kuru’s battlefield,  
Face to face, O Sanjaya, what did they in the holy field ?”

Swami CHIDBHAVANANDA, 1965: Gathered together at Kurukshetra, the field of religious activities, what, O Sanjaya, did my war-inclined sons and those of Pandu do ?

R. C. ZAEHNER, 1966: On the field of justice, the Kuru-field, my men and the sons of Pāṇḍu too [stand] massed together ready for the fight. What, Sanjaya, did they do ?

Mahesh YOGI, 1967: Assembled on the field of Dharma, O Sanjaya, on the field of the Kurus, eager to fight, what did my people and the Pandavas do ?

M. R. SAMPATKUMARAN, 1969: My people and also the sons of Pāṇḍu, who had gathered together on the holy field of Kurukshetra with the wish to fight (among themselves)—What did they do, O Saṁjaya ?

[Gita-Press], 1969: Sanjaya, gathered on the sacred soil of Kurukshetra, eager to fight, what did my children and the children of Pāṇḍu do ?

A. BAHM, 1970: Dhritarashtra asked: How did my people and the Pandavas conduct themselves in the sphere of morality when they met each other on the field of battle seeking to fight, O Sanjaya ?

U. S. SHRIVASTAVA, 1970: What was done by the ego-dominated Kauravas (Mamkah) and the Pandavas gathered together eager for battle at the Kurukshetra (Field of action), which is also the Dharma Kshetra [a field for free display of the law of one’s nature] ?



V. H. DATE, 1971: What have my sons and the sons of Paṇḍu done, O Sañjaya, after having assembled in the holy land of Kurukṣetra with a view to fight ?

P. LAL, (1965) 1971: Dhritarashtra asked:

Tell me, Sanjaya,

What did the Pandavas and the Kauravas do

gathered on the sacred battlefield of Kurukshetra ?

P. A. C. BHAKTIVEDANTA Swami, (1960) 1972: O Sanjaya, after assembling in the place of pilgrimage at Kurukṣetra, what did my sons and the sons of Pāṇḍu do, being desirous to fight ?

M. DESAI, 1974: Dhritarashtra asked Sanjay to tell him what his sons and Pandavas, who had assembled in Kurukshetra, which was also a Dharmakshetra, were doing.

S. S. JHUNJHUNWALA, 1974: Assembled on the plain of Kurukshetra, the field of Dharma, eager for battle, what O Sanjaya, did my people and Pandavas do ?

E. G. PARRINDER, 1974: Across the Field of Righteousness on Kuru-field my faithful men encountering the Pandavas prepared to fight — What happened then ?

D. K. ROY, 1974:

When in Kurukṣetra's sacred battlefield

Pāṇḍu's belligerent sons and my own met,

What happened, Sañjaya, tell me in detail.

A. T. NICOLAS, 1976: My sons and those of Pāṇḍu, what did they do, Sanjaya, when, eager to fight, they assembled on the field of the Kurus, the field of dharma ?

S. K. GUPTA, 1977: Tell me, O Sanjaya, massed in battle array on the sacred grounds of Kurukṣetra, what did my own sons and those of Pāṇḍu do ?

L. CHATTERJEE, 1977:

Upon the field of dharma, e'en upon

Kurukshetra, met keen to join the fight,

My people and the Pandavas — what did

They (then proceed to) do, O Sanjaya ?

K. K. MOHANTY, 1977:

On the field of the kuru, the field of right,

Are gathered together those eager to fight

The sons of Pandu and all my own people,

What did they do, O Sanjaya, in battle ?

VIRAJEŚVAR, 1977: What did my children and Pandu's children do after eagerly assembling to fight on the battlefield of holy Kurukshetra, Sanjaya ?

M. C. R. RAO, 1978: O Sanjaya, what did my children and Pandu's children do when they assembled on the sacred field of Kurukshetra eager to fight ?

[Shree Geeta Ashram], 1978: O Sanjaya, assembled on the sacred field of Kurukshetra, eager to fight, what did my sons and those of Pandu do ?

K. W. BOLLE, 1979:

In the land of the right tradition,  
the land of the Kurus,  
my men and the men of Pāṇḍu met,  
Ready to fight.  
What did they do, Saṁjaya ?

G. FEUERSTEIN, 1980: On the *dharma*-field, the *kuru*-field, my [men] and the sons-of-Pāṇḍu were assembled, eager to fight. What did they do, Saṁjaya ?

### 5.5. Samples of BG 2.47

We selected three terms for the comparison of some 46 translations quoted below.

*Karma* is mostly rendered as *work* or *action*, as *duty* by Bhaktivedanta and Chidbhavananda, and as *rituals* by Bolle.

*Karmaphalahetu* is by many translators understood in its straightforward meaning: *the fruit of action should not be your motive* (also Tilak, Edgerton, etc.); *do not be benefit-motivated*. However, we also find renderings which lay the emphasis on a different shade of meaning: *you should not be the cause of the result of action; you should not be the producer of the fruits of action; you should not seek the fruit of action; you are not the cause of the results of your activities*.

*Akarma* is translated in a variety of ways: *inaction; abstinence from works; caste all self aside* (Arnold); *not-work; desist from work; non-action; do not insist on not-performing action; inactivity; laziness; not doing your duty; worklessness*. See also below, the note of Feuerstein given with Mascaro's translation (p. 265).

K. M. GANGULI, 1883-96: Thy concern is with work only, but not with the fruit (of work). Let not the fruit be thy motive for work; nor let thy inclination be for inaction.



Sir Edwin ARNOLD, 1885:

But thou, want not ! ask not ! Find full reward  
Of doing right in right ! Let right deeds be  
Thy motive, not the fruit which comes from them  
And live in action ! Labour ! Make thine acts  
Thy piety, casting all self aside.

Mohini M. CHATTERJI, 1887: Thy right is only to action; let thy right be never the result; nor may thou be the cause of the result of action, nor may there be in thee attachment to inaction.

Alladi Mahadeva SASTRI, 1897: Thy concern is with action alone, never with results. Let not the fruit of action be thy motive, nor let thy attachment be for inaction.

A. BESANT and Bhagavan DAS, 1905: Thy business is with action only, never with its fruits; so let not fruit of action be thy motive, nor be thou to inaction attached.

C. JOHNSTON, (1908) 1965: Thy right is to work, but never to its fruits; let not the fruit of thy work be thy motive, nor take refuge in abstinence from works.

Svami SVARUPANANDA, (1909): 8th ed. 1948: Thy right is to work only; but never to the fruits thereof. Be thou not the producer of the fruits of (thy) actions; neither let thy attachment be towards inaction.

M. RANGAC(H)ARYA, 1915: Your title is only to the work, and never to the fruits (thereof). Let not the fruits of work be your motive (for action), and do you not become attached to inaction.

Douglas HILL, (1928) 1953: In work thy rightful interest should lie, nor ever in its fruits; let not thy motive be the fruit of work; to not-work let not thine attachment be.

D. S. SARMA, (1930) (3th ed.): Work alone art thou entitled to, and not to its fruit. So never work for fruit, nor yet desist from work.

E. J. THOMAS, 1931: Thy business should be with action, never with the fruits; let not thy motive be the fruit of action, nor be attached to non-action.

N. U. THADANI, 1933: Thy duty is to act alone, and not to seek its fruit at all. Seek not the fruit of action thou; nor to inaction be attached.

Swami PUROHIT, 1935: But thou hast only the right to work, but none to the fruit thereof. Let not then the fruit of thy action be thy motive; nor yet be thou enamoured of inaction.

B. S. SUKTHANKAR, 1935 (B. G. Tilak): Your authority extends only to the performance of action: (obtaining or not obtaining) the fruit, is never within your authority (that is, never within your control); (therefore), do not be one who performs action with the (avaricious) motive (in the mind) that a particular fruit should be obtained (of his action); nor do you also insist on not-performing action.

Sri AUROBINDO, 1938 (Ed. by A. B. Roy): Thou hast a right to action, but only to action, never to its fruits; let not the fruits of thy works be thy motive, neither let there be in thee any attachment to inactivity.

S. K. BELVALKAR, 1943: Thou hast a (rightful) title to action, but only to action; never at all to its fruitions. Let not the fruits of actions be thy (inspiring-) motive. Nor let thy attachment be to inaction.

Swami PRABHAVANANDA and Christopher ISHERWOOD, 1944: You have the right to work, but for the work's sake only. You have no right to the fruits of work. Desire for the fruits of work must never be your motive in working. Never give away to laziness, either.

F. EDGERTON, (1925) 1946:

On action alone be thy interest,

Never on its fruits;

Let not the fruits of action be thy motive,

Nor be thy attachment to inaction.

T. L. VASVANI, 1947: To action alone hast thou a right, never to its fruit. Let not the fruit of action be thy motive, nor be thou to inaction attached.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN, 1948: To action alone hast thou a right and never at all to its fruits; let not the fruits of action be thy motive; neither let there be in thee any attachment to inaction.

Swami VIRESWARANANDA, (1948) 1972 (3rd ed.): To work alone you have the right, but never claim its results. Let not the results of actions be your motive nor be attached to inaction.

P. S. MEHRA, 1954 (4th ed., n.d.): To actions done hast thou the right but never to the fruit thereof. Be thou neither motivated by the fruits of actions nor be thou attached to inaction.

V. RAGHAVAN, 1956: Your concern lies only with action, never with its fruits; do not have the fruit as the motive of your action; nor become prone to inaction.

D. STEPHEN, 1956: So do thou aim at action, not in any case at fruits. The fruit of action must not be a motive. Do not thou be attached to inaction.



Swami CHINMAYANANDA, 1959: Thy right is to work only; but never to its fruits; let not the fruit of action be thy motive, nor let thy attachment be to inaction.

BHAKTIVEDANTA, ca. 1960: You have a right to perform your prescribed duty, but you are not entitled to the fruits of action.

Never consider yourself to be the cause of the results of your activities, and never be attached to not doing your duty.

Nataraja GURU, 1961: Your concern should be with action (as such) alone, not for any benefits ever. Do not become benefit-motivated; be not attached to inaction (either).

Baburao PATEL, 1962:

To action alone thou hast a right,  
Its fruit must remain out of thy sight,  
Let not the fruit be the impulse of thy action,  
Nor be thou attached to a life of idle inaction.

Juan MASCARO, 1962:

Set thy heart upon thy work, but never on its reward.  
Work not for a reward; but never cease to do thy work.

Note: G. Feuerstein (*BG*, 1980, p. 50) criticizes Mascaro's rendering, as follows:

"This does not at all reflect the profound spirit of the original. The Sanskrit text literally says: 'In action alone is your rightful interest, never in [its] fruits. Let not your motive be the fruit of action, nor let your attachment be to inaction.'

"Mascaro gets the first half right, but misses the point of the second hemistich. The phrase 'never cease to do thy work' should properly be rendered as 'nor let your attachment be to inaction'—which is something completely different. For the *BG* is primarily interested in our *attitude* towards the performance of actions. It is concerned with our attachment or non-attachment to things. This does not come across in Mascaro's version at all."

Swami CHIDBHAVANANDA, 1965: Seek to perform your duty; but lay not claim to its fruits. Be you not the producer of the fruits of Karma; neither shall you lean towards inaction.

P. LAL, 1965:

Your duty is to work, not to reap the fruits of work.  
Do not go for the rewards of what you do,  
but neither be fond of laziness.

R. C. ZAEHNER, 1966:

Work alone is thy proper business,  
Never the fruits [it may produce];  
Let not your motive be the fruit of work,  
Nor your attachment to [mere] worklessness (*akarma*).

Mahesh YOGI, 1967: You have control over action alone, never over its fruits. Live not for the fruits of action, nor attach yourself to inaction.

M. R. SAMPATKUMARAN, 1969: To work alone is your right and never to the fruits (thereof). Do not become (i.e. do not regard yourself as) the cause of work and (its) fruits, nor have attachment to inaction.

A. BAHM, 1970: You have a right only to work, but never to the fruits thereof. Be not motivated by rewards nor prone to laziness.

U. S. SHRIVASTAVA, 1970: The Lord says that you are entitled only to the performance of action, but you have no claim over its fruit. So let not the fruits of action be your motive, but then let not inaction be your choice.

V. H. DATE, 1971: To actions only your right (extends); never at all to the fruits; the (acquisition of) fruits should not be the (self-chosen) motive of actions; nor should you get attached to inaction.

M. DESHPANDE, 1972: You have only the right to work but never to the fruit of work. Hence let not the fruit of action be your motive, nor let there be any attachment to inaction.

A. L. HERMAN, 1973: Let your concern be with actions alone and never with the fruits of action. Do not let the results of action be your motive and do not be attached to inaction.

Morarji DESAI, 1974: You are free to perform an action, but you should not have any desire about the results flowing from that action. You should therefore perform your duties and not think of the results.

G. PARRINDER, 1974:

Fix interest not on results  
but on your work as done, no less;  
make not your motive fruits of work  
nor be attached to worklessness.



D. K. ROY, (1974) 1976:

You have the right to works — not to their fruits.  
Which never must motivate your action on earth.  
Nor must you yield to attachment, to inaction.

Kuldip CHANDRA, 1976:

To action alone thou hast the right,  
never to the fruits thereof. Let not the  
fruit of action be thy motive; nor  
shouldst thou desire to avoid action.

M. C. Ramalingeswara RAO, 1978: Your role is only to perform your actions (well). You are not to think of the fruits thereof. Never assume that you are the (sole) cause of success for your actions and (because of this) let you not be disinterested in your actions.

Kees W. BOLLE, 1979:

You are entitled to perform rituals,  
but not at all to their results.  
The results of rituals should not be your motive,  
Nor should you abstain from rituals.

Note: The translator realizes that criticism would arise about this choice of translating *karman* as ritual; on p. 317 he says that he preferred to steer a safe middle course between the option for “activity in general” or a consistent rendering. There are indications of the ritualistic and liturgical interests of the *BG*-author, but even then, the word *karma* has different shades of meaning according to context.

G. FEUERSTEIN, 1980: In action alone is your rightful-interest (*adhikāra*), never in [its] fruits (*phala*). Let not your motive be the fruit of action, nor let your attachment be to inaction (*akarman*).

Footnote of the translator: “This stanza does not enjoin heedlessness about the outcome of one’s actions. Rather it demands that we should not defile our deeds by acting out of selfish motives. The technical term *phala* or ‘fruit’ is not the same as ‘result’.” See also his critical remarks on Mascaro’s translation of this verse.

### 5.6. List of English translations

1. an., *Bhuguvudgeeta or Dialogues between Krishnu and Arjoonu*, extracted from the *Mahabarut*, printed at Khizurpoor, near Calcutta, 1809, 60 pp. (Wilkins’ improved ed.).
2. an., *BG*, (text, tr. and esoteric exposition), (K. P. Datta), Calcutta, 1889.
3. an., *MBh*, (abridged version of the *Kannada Bhārata sangraha*, prescribed for Matric exam., Univ. of Madras), (V. Soobbiah & Sons), Bangalore, 1892.

4. an., *The BG*, (Path), New York, 1894 (5th).
5. an., *The BG*, (with Translation and Notes, compiled from various writers), (The Christian Lit. Soc., SPCK Press), Madras, 1895.
6. an., *The Sacred Books of the East Described and Examined*, (Hindu Series), vol. 2: *BG*, (The Christ. Lit. Soc. for India), London, Madras, 1898.
7. an., *MBh*, (Sanskrit text of Maharshi Vyas with complete English and Hindi tr.), (Ramakrishna & Co), Moradabad, 1902...
8. an., *BG*, (Ramanuja's com.), in *The Brahmavadin*, 1905-9.
9. an., *BG*, (with text, word-meaning, paraphrase in Hindi and English prose tr. and important notes, ch. 1 only), (ed. by Pt. Adya Prasada Misra), Benares, 1905-9.
10. an., *BG*, Moradabad, 1906.
11. an., *MBh*, (selections), (The Divine Archer, Dent), London, 1911.
12. an., *BG*, (Yāmūnācārya's com.), in *The Brahmavadin*, 17 (1912), 372-79.
13. an., *SBG*, (Ramakrishna Math), Mylapore, 1940.
14. an., *Geeta-English*, (with text, tr. and notes by Swami Vimalānanda, Tirtha Kalahasti ?), (Free Geeta Distribution Mission), Calcutta, 1945 (49th).
15. an., *SBG*, (text, word-for-word tr., easy rendering, com. and index), (Advaita Ashrama), Magavati, 1948 (8th).
16. an., *BG*, *A Book of Hindu Scriptures, in the Form of a Dialogue between Prince Arjuna and the God Krishna*, (with illustrations by Ruth McCrea), Mayflower, 1955.
17. an., *The BG*, (abridged), (Peter Pauper Press), Mt. Vernon, 1959.
18. an., *Gita 40* (40 selected ślokas of *BG*, śāntipāthas from the Vedas and 10 verses from Tirukkural in Sanskrit, English and Tamil), (Students' Club), Tiruvallur, (1961), 1962.
19. an., *SBG*, (with text and tr. by the editorial staff of "Kalyana-Kalpataru"), (Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, 1934...
20. an., *The BG or The Song Divine*, (with text, and tr. based on J. Goyandaka's Hindi tr., continuously revised), (Gita-Press), Gorakhpur, 1971 (20th), (Introduction and Synopsis: The Greatness of the Gita, pp. 5-16; Text and tr., pp. 33-369; God-Realization, pp. 371-404).
21. an., *Śrīdhara Makkala-gītā*, (with Kannada and English tr.), (Darpana), Bangalore, 1972.
22. an., *The Holy Geeta*, (Central Chinmaya Mission Trust), Bombay, 1974.
23. an., *SBG*, (Datta Lakshmi Trust), Poona, 1976.
24. an., *BG*, (text and tr.), (N.B.D. Publ.), New Delhi, 1977.
25. an., *The Gita*, (Pictorial), (Amar Chitra Kathā, Immortal Pictorial Classics, No. 127). The script is by Anant Pai; illustrations by Pratap Mullick; the introduction and some verses by Swami Chinmayananda.
26. an., *SBG*, (Sanskrit and romanized text with English tr.; Preface by H. H. Swami Harihar Maharaj), (Shree Geeta Ashram), Delhi Cantt., 1978.
27. ABHEDĀNANDA, Swami, *BG*, *The Divine Message*, (65 lectures; Preface by Swami Prajñānanda, who inserted commentaries by Śāṅkara and Madhusūdana with glossaries by Ānandagiri and Śrīdhara; Appendix with text and tr.); 2 vols., (Ramakrishna Vedanta Math), Calcutta, (before 1921), 1969, 1973; see above, 5.4.



28. ADIDEVANANDA, Swami, *The BG*, (in *pothi* form), (Mangalore Trad. Ass.; Sharada Press), Mangalore, 1967.
- 28a. AIYANGAR, S. Ramaswami, *The BG*, (Coxton Press), Bangalore, 1910.
29. ANANDA, S. S., *The BG, Jeevan-mukti Saar, or The Hindus' Book of Life and Salvation*, (text and tr.), (N. N. Vaid), Lahore, n.d.
30. ANANTHARAMAN, Tanjore, *The BG for Study and Reflection*, (publ. in German tr. by Gertrud Lietz).
- ARNOLD, C., ed., *The Story of the MBh*, simplified by M. Sykes, Bombay, 1959; BG pp. 92-101.
31. ARNOLD, Edwin Sir, *The Song Celestial or BG*, (in Victorian blank verse), (Trübner & Co.), London, (1885), 1979; (about 40 ed.); see above, 5.1.f; 5.4; 5.5; see a'so Latin 3, German 10, Dutch 15.
32. ATKINSON, W. W., See RAMACHARAKA.
33. AUROBINDO (Ghose), 'Essays on the Gita', in *Arya*, Budicherry, 1916-20; published as *Essays on the Gita*, 1922; (32d ed., 1959), 809 pp.  
Aurobindo has not translated the complete Sanskrit text of the BG. A Bengali disciple (see below, Roy, A.) made a complete translation, based on specific instructions by Aurobindo. See above, 3.3.h; for translations (in the light of Aurobindo), see above, Hin. 20, 180, 277; Ben. 183; Tam. 28; and below, Eng. 121, 145; German 1; French 20, 23; Italian 11.
34. AVINASHILINGAM, T. S., *BG, Science of Human Development*, (Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya), Coimbatore, 1973.
35. AYER, S. N., *BG*, (Advanced Thought), n.d.
36. AYYANGAR, S. Parthasarthy, *BG*, (Gnānavignāna Trust), Madras, 1954.
37. AYYAR, A. S. P., *A Layman's BG*, (Introduction of 95 pp.; tr. with parallel texts from Vedas, Upanishads and Puranas), (The Alliance Company), Madras, 1946; 1949; 1956 . . .; see above, 5.4.
38. AYYAR, Jagadisa, *The MBh*, (Selections), Madras, 1922.
39. BABA, Bengali, *SBG*, (with Introduction: "The Solution of Life Problems", text and annot. tr.), (S. Mulk Raj Puri), Kapurthala, 1944.
40. BAHADUR, K., *Burning Bush, A Verse Rendering*, Allahabad, 1961; or *The Gita* (Anuj Publ.), Lucknow, 1980.
41. BAHADUR, Rai, (P. Anunda Charlu), *Virtue's Triumph or the MBh*, (G. Ramaswamy Chetty & Co.), Madras, 1894, 347 pp.
42. BAHM, Archie J., *The BG or the Wisdom of Krishna*, (with Introduction, and Appendix: 1. The Historical Dramatic Setting; 2. The Nature of Dharma; 3. The Nature of Karma; 4. The Samkhya System; 5. The Three Gunas), (Somaiya Publ., Ananda Press), Bombay (1970), 1978; (tr. prepared at BHU, Benares, 1962-63). See above, 5.4; 5.5.
43. BAJPAI, Buddhi Prakash, *Secret Doctrine of the Gita*, (tr. and com., a collection of the *Gita Rahasya* of Navrang Swami of the Pranāmi sect), (Shri Prannath Mission), New Delhi, 1978.
44. BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Jitendriya (Bannerjee), *The Gita, The Song Supreme*, (A running exposition in narration form; introduction by S. Radhakrishnan), Taraporevala, Bombay, (1962), 1963; see above, 5.4.
45. BANERJEE, Bejoy Kumar, *SBG*, (Oriental Religious Series, 2; Aparajita Press Depos.), Calcutta, 1947.
46. BANERJEE, S., *MBh*, (selections), (Shastri & Sons; Bharatwahan Press), Nagpur, 1936.

47. BANSILAL, Rai Sahib, Rai, *The Gita Rearranged and Explained*, (Raj & Sons), Delhi, 1953; see above, 5.4.
48. BARNETT, Lionel D., *The BG or the Lord's Song*, (Dent), London, (1905), 1926; see above, 5.4.
- BASU, see BOSE.
49. BASU, Bani, Mrs., and SENGUPTA, Kajal, Mrs., *SBG*, (Introduction, text, transliteration, syntax, word-for-word tr. and substance, based on Bengali version by Srimat Yatindra Ramanujacharya), (Sree Balarama Dharmasopan), Khardah, 1968. See Ben. 179.
50. BELVALKAR, S. K., *SBG*, (with Introduction: "Critical Exposition of the Argument", and Index of proper names), Poona, 1943. Also with Introduction by V. S. Agrawala, (Nepal Rajya-Sanskrit Series).
51. BESANT, Annie, *The BG or the Lord's Song*, (Theos. Publ. Soc.), London, 1895, 1896 (rev.), 1904 (5th ed.), etc.; see above, 5.1.g; 5.4; 5.5.

With Bhagavan DAS, *BG*, (An Introd. to Sanskrit grammar, word-for-word text, free translation, list of variants and a complete word-index); (Theos. Pub. House), Madras, (1905), 1950 (4th ed.), 1973 (6th ed.). This tr. is used in R. O. Ballou, *The Bible of the World*, London, 1940. See 3.3.h; Hin. 154; Ben. 152; Mar. 76; Tam. 40; Dutch 7; (Swedish 4); French 8; Spanish 9; Russian 1; Hungarian 3.

By Besant also, *Story of the Great War*, *MBh* (retold), Madras, 1927, 1978; *BG*, *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya*, Book II, ed. with Śrīdhara's commen. by Sisirkumar Mitra, Calcutta, 1929. See also below, 268.

- BHAGAVATARATNA, S. V., see TATTVABHUSHAN, S.
52. BHAGVANANI, Satramdas Kevalram, *BG*, Poona, (1968), 1975.
53. BHAGWAT, Ramachandra Keshav, *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, (*Jñāneśvarī* with the BG version of S. K. Belvalkar, revisions by S. V. Pandit and V. V. Dixit), 2 vols., (Aryabhushan Press), Poona, 1952-54; (with introduction of N. K. Bhagwat on The Sociological Background), (Samata Books), Madras, 1979 (2nd).
54. BHAKTIVEDANTA, Svami Prabhupāda, *The BG as it is. A New Translation with Commentary*, (with appreciations by A. Ginsberg, D. Levertov and T. Merton), 1968; *The BG as it is*, (complete ed. with original text, Roman transliteration, English equivalents, tr. and elaborate purports), (Collier Books), New York, (1972), 1974. Foreword by E. Dimock; Preface; Introduction, pp. 1-29; Text, pp. 31-849, interspersed with illustrations; Appendices: Picture Index; References; Glossary; Sanskrit Pronunciation Guide; Index of Sanskrit verses; General Index; pp. 853-981. See above, 3.3.h; see Ben. 176, and above 5.4; 5.5; translated into German, Dutch, Swedish, French, Italian, Spanish, Arabic and Gujarati, acc. to a letter of the Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, UK, dated April 1981; a Swahili tr. was also advertised.
55. BHASYAM, Sri K., *Gītāsāra*, (in an edition of Yāmuna's com. *Gītārthasangraha*), Madras, 1960; (see Tam. 20).
56. BHATTA, Viśvāsa Gangādhara, *The BG. A Study*, (with text and tr.), Poona, 1932.
57. BOLLE, Kees W., *The BG. A New Translation*, (Univ. of California Press), Berkeley, 1979.

(Part I: Text and Translation; Part II: On Translating the BG, pp. 219-58; Bibliography; Sanskrit Concordance to the BG, pp. 263-306, followed by an English Guide, with references to the Sanskrit



- Concordance, pp. 307-15; Acknowledgments). See above, 5.3; 5.4; 5.5.
58. BON, Tridandi Swami B. H., Maharaj, *The Geeta as a Chaitanyite Reads it*, (Popular Bk. Dep.), Bombay, 1938; (Inst. of Oriental Philos.), Vrindaban, 1972. See above, 5.4.
- BONNERJEE, see BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, J.
59. BOSE, Bela, Mrs., (Basu), *The BG*, Calcutta, n.d.  
Also *BG, The Lord's Song*, (with conspectus, introduction of 70 pp., summary, text and index), (Kitabistan), Allahabad, 1959; see above, 5.4
60. BOWER, H., Rev., *BG*, (parallel tr. into English and Tamil, based on Thomson's), (Higginbotham), Madras, 1885; (see Tam. 17).
61. BROOKS, F. T., *The BG, the Chant of the Blessed One*, (a rhythmical tr.), (Sri Vani Vilas Press), Srirangam, 1909.  
Also *BG, A Complete Handbook*, with text, revised metric tr., notes, word-for-word tr. with several renderings, 2 vols., (Avyayayoga Series), 1911<sup>1</sup>.
- BUCK, William, *MBh*, (retold, with introduction by B. A. Van Nooten, illustr. by S. Triest), (Univ. of California Press), Berkeley, 1973, XXIII, 417 pp.<sup>2</sup>.
62. BUDDHIRAJA, S. D., *SBG*, (Ganesh & Co.), Madras, 1927.
63. BUITENEN, J. A. B., Van, *Rāmānuja on the BG. A Condensed Rendering of his Gītābhāṣya with Copious Notes and Introduction*, (Mot. Banarsidass), Delhi, (1953), 1974.  
Also *MBh*, vol. 1: The Book of the Beginning, (Chicago Univ. Press), 1973; vol. 2: The Book of the Assembly and The Book of the Forest, 1975...

1. We read in the Foreword of Brooks:

"This attempt at a rhythmical translation of an oft-translated Book has a double object of its own. First, to embody in some measure the practical sense of the original... Second, to make the Book more pleasant reading, and bring its Beauty home to the English mind and ear somewhat more fully than any prose translation could ever hope to do."

Though Brooks skilfully imitates the original ślokas with twice a 6-feet blank verse, which lends itself to recitation or cantation, yet the result is sometimes very artificial, e.g. BG 2.2b:

"For Living Souls, or 'here', or 'gone',  
the Wisdom-Eyed no longer grieve...."

or 2.54a: "How to describe a Will-poised Man,  
At-onement-fixed, O Keshava?"

The translation of some divine epithets is rather odd, like 'O Wonderhaired' (1.31) and 'O Bull of Men' (2.15); he also uses without discretion terms like 'gnosis' which has a complicated philosophical content. Brooks acknowledges, however, that his "translation, as it now stands, is merely in its second stage of growth, and has still many alterations to undergo".

2. Bill BUCK relates how he discovered the great epic though the BG. Yet in his 417-page story he devotes only one paragraph to the BG setting, with just a few phrases for the whole BG content:

p. 259 "Then Krishna sang a song — My beloved, why yield, why give way?"  
— The Song of the Lord.

Arjuna picked up his bow: "Drive back, Narayana — and I will fight!"

64. BURWAY, Mukund Waman Rao, *Glimpses of the BG and the Vedanta Philosophy*, (text with introd. and tr., pp. 129-262), (Vaibhav Press), Bombay, 1916; (Asian Publ.), Delhi, 1981.
65. CALEB, Clement Cornelius, *The Song Divine or the BG*, (a metric rendering with annotations), (Luzac & Co.), London, 1911; see above, 5.4<sup>3</sup>.
66. CARLYLE, Richard, *The Psalms of Krishna*, (i.e. BG), (The Phoenix Press), Los Angeles-Calif., 1933.
67. CHAKRAVARTI, Rai Bahadur Bireshvar, *BG in English Rhyme*, (with introduction and notes), (K. Trübner & Co.), London; (J. S. Chakravarti; S. K. Lahiri), Calcutta, 1906.
68. CHANDRA, Kuldip, *BG Illustrated*, (New Book Depot), New Delhi, 1976; see above, 5.5.
69. CHARAN, Babu Radha, *BG*, (text, *padachcheda*, word-meaning, literal tr., notes, quotations and metaphysical preface), (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, extra vol.; L. Mohan Basu, Panini Office), Allahabad, 1928.
- CHARLU, Anunda, see BAHADUR, R.
70. CHATTERJEE, Jatindra Mohan, *Pancadasi Gita*, (15 chapters of re-arranged BG with quotations inserted), (Munshiram Manoharlal), New Delhi, 1977.
71. CHATTERJEE, Lalit Mohan, *BG, Song of the Divine*, (in blank verse), (Satikumar Chatterjee), Calcutta, (1962), 1977; see above, 5.4.
72. CHATTERJI, Mohini Mohan, *The BG or The Lord's Lay*, (with com. and notes, as well as references to the Christian Scriptures; translated from the Sanskrit for the benefit of those in search of spiritual light), (Houghton M. Co.), Boston, 1887; (Trübner), London, 1888; (Causeway Bks.), New Delhi, 1960; see above, 5.5.
73. CHAUDHURY, Bani Roy, *MBh. The Epic Tale of India, retold*, (Art work by "Ashish"), (Hemkunt Press), New Delhi, 1967, 120 pp.
74. CHHOPHELLA, Lama Gedun and PRABUDDHANANDA, Swami, *The Gita Bkaktiyoga*, (ch. 12), (Ramakrishna Vedanta Ashrama), Darjeeling; (Oriental Press), Calcutta, n.d. See Tibetan.
75. CHIDBHAVANANDA, Swami, *SBG, The BG*, (Original stanzas, split-up reading, transliteration, word-for-word tr., a lucid English rendering and com.), (Tapovanam Ser., 80; Sri Ramakrishna Tapovanam), Tirupparaiturai, (1965), 1975. Introduction, pp. 1-65; *Gītā Dhyānam*, pp. 67-74; Text, pp. 75-992. Index to first lines, topics, appellations of Arjuna and Sri Krishna, pp. 993-1008. See above, 3.3.h; 5.1.a; 5.4; 5.5; Tam. 19.

3. Caleb writes in his Preface (1911):

"The version lays no claim to being the result of critical study or original investigation: it is, so far as my share in its production is concerned, merely a versification based upon existing prose translations, and intended to further the popularization, in the East as well as in the West, of a book which has had an incalculable influence upon the minds and characters of a large section of the people of India, and which has been the means of helping many a weary soul in its endeavour to find, in the midst of the cares and turmoils of life, that perfect peace which results from union with the Divine."

The translator acknowledges the help of "a friend whose modesty forbids me to disclose his name".



Also pocket-size edition, *The BG with Sanskrit Text*, (Tapovanam Ser., 94), Tirupparaitturai, 1976, 247 pp.

76. CHINMAYANANDA, Swami, *The SBG*, (Foreword by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri; text in Sanskrit, each verse followed by Roman transliteration, word-for-word meaning, translation and exhaustive com.), 4 vols., (Chinmaya Publ. Trust), Madras; (Perfecta Printing Wks.), Bombay, (1959), 1961; 10 vols., Madras, 1970-71; see above, 5.4; 5.5; Tam. 47; Mal. 10.  
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81. DAVIES, John, *The BG or The Sacred Lay*, (Trübner's Oriental Ser.; Hindu Philosophy, Trübner), London, 1882, 1889, 1893 . . . ; Calcutta, 1979. (Introduction, pp. 1-17; Text with footnotes, pp. 19-180; Appendix: 1. On the date; 2. Lunar dynasty; 3. Collation of Mss. pp. 181-206 and Philological notes on the chs.); see above, 5.1.d; 5.4.
82. DAVIS, Roy E., *BG. God's Revealing Word*, (C.S.A. Pr.), Lakemont, 1978.
83. DESAI, Mahadev, *The Gospel of Selfless Action on the Gita according to Gandhi*, (tr. of the original Gujarati *Anāsakti Yoga*, with additional introd. and com.), (Navajivan Publ.), Ahmedabad, (1946), 1956; see above, Guj. 36.
84. DESAI, Morarji, *BG. A View of the Gita*, (Gujarat Vidyapith), Ahmedabad, 1974, New Delhi, 1978; see above, 5.4 and Guj. 31; Hin. 74.
85. DESHMUKH, C. D., *BG*, (Andhra Mahila Sabha), Hyderabad, 1976.
86. DESHPANDE, M. S., *Dhyāna-Gītā*, (Part II: Gita for Meditation, selected verses, based on R. D. Ranade's Marathi com.); see above, 5.5; see Mar. 111.
- DESHPANDE, R. R., see SATWALEKAR, S.
87. DEUTSCH, Elliot, *The BG*, (tr. with introd. and critical essays), (Holt, Rinehart & Winston), New York, 1968.
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90. DUBE, M. L., *The MBh*, (an epitome), 1894.
91. DUTT, Manmath Nath, *The MBh*, (a prose tr., translated literally from the original), (H. Dass; Elysium Press), Calcutta, 1897. BG

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94. EDGERTON, Franklin, *The BG or Song of the Blessed One, India's Favourite Bible*, Chicago, 1925. Reviewed by S. K. Belvalkar, *Ann. BORI*, 6 (1925), 109.  
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95. FEUERSTEIN, Georg, *The BG. Yoga of Contemplation and Action*, (as a sequence to his *Introduction to the BG*, 1974; yet, the Introduction, pp. 1-45, covers new topics: Ontology, epistemology, theology, cosmology, anthropology, eschatology, ethics, mysticism; Note on The Translation, pp. 47-51; the text of Belvalkar's critical edition is transliterated with tr. and notes; at the end come "the apocryphal verses found in some of the Sanskrit Manuscripts", viz. the *Gītā-dhyāna* and *Gītā-māhātmya* in Appendices), (H. R. Gupta & Sons, for Arnold-Heinemann), New Delhi, 1980; see above, 5.3; 5.4; 5.5.
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97. GANDY, Wallace, *The Pandav Princes . . .*, (MBh-selections), London, 1915.
98. GANGULI, Kisari Mohan, *The MBh of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa*, (in prose), (first published in 100 fascicules by Protapchandra Roy), Calcutta, 1883-96; subsequently re-issued erroneously describing P. C. Roy as the translator; rectified in an improved edition, 12 vols., (M. Manoharlal), Delhi, 1973; BG in vol. 5: Bhishmaparva, pp. 50-98; see above, 5.1.e; 5.4-5.
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99. GARDENER, *BG*, Bangalore, 1848.
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- 100a. GITA-PREMI, R. C., *Gita Teaching* (introd., text, analysis, lit. tr., notes; Sacred Books of the Hindus Ser., 6, Panini Office), Allahabad, ca. 1935.
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107. GREENLESS, Duncan, *The Gospel of Sri Krishna*, (based on a new tr. of selections from Bhāgavat Purana and BG, with introduction and a reasoned esoteric interpretation), (The Word Gospel Ser., 14; Theos. Publ. H.), Adyar, 1962.
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111. GUPTA, Harish Chandra, *BG*, (Indian Press), Allahabad, 1960.
112. GUPTA, Ramakristna Rao, *Sri Geetha Ratnamula*, (selections in Telugu script, with English tr.), (Bhāratī-vilāsa Press), Narasarowpet, 1911.
113. GUPTA, Sisir Kumar, *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī on the BG, Being an English Translation of his Commentary Gūdhārthadīpikā*, (Mot. Banarsidass), Delhi, 1977; see above, 5.4.
- GUPTA, T., (see Tel. 32).
114. GURU, Nataraja, *The BG. A Sublime Hymn of Dialectics Composed by the Antique Sage-bard Vyāsa*, (with general and introductory essays, verse com., word notes, text and tr.), (Asia Publ. H.), Bombay, 1961; subs. publ. as *A Sublime Hymn of Yoga* (with explanatory dialogue on the translation by Nitya Chaitanya YATI), e.g. (Vikas Publ.), New Delhi, 1981; see above, 5.4; 5.5.
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116. HILL, W. Douglas P., *The BG*, (tr. and com.), (Oxford Univ. Press), London, 1928; 1953 (2nd abr.); 1976. Introduction: The Cult of Krishna Vāsudeva, pp. 1-18; The BG, pp. 18-24; The Doctrine of the BG, pp. 24-72; text and tr., pp. 73-215; handy analytical Subject-index, pp. 217-34; see above, 5.4; 5.5<sup>4</sup>.

4. Often critical of work done by predecessors, Hill also objects to Śankara, "who most perversely twists the doctrine of 2.12 to agree with his preconceived philosophy".

About Thomson's translation he remarks that it is "too wretched to need comment".

The reader can evaluate Hill's own version from verse 11.55, which is said to convey the essence of the Gītā: "Whose work is unto me, whose goal I am, my votary, free from attachment, void of enmity to any being — he comes to me, (o son of Pāṇḍu)"!

K. Bollé (see above, Eng. 57, and p. 224) remarks that Hill "gave us the most outstanding English rendering of the text".

117. HOON, V. N., *The Symphony of the BG. Orchestral Rendering of the Song Celestial*, (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), Bombay, 1975.
- ISHERWOOD, Christopher, see PRABHAVANANDA, S.
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- JAGADĀNANDA, Swami, see JAGADISHWARĀNANDA, S.
119. JAGADISHWARĀNANDA, Swami, *SBG*, (Udbodhan), Calcutta, n.d.
120. JAGANNĀTHĀCHĀRYA, T. K., *SBG*, (text, transliteration, tr. and notes), (Dharmika Hindu Mission), Madras, 1970.
121. JHUNJHUNWALA, Shyam Sunder, *The Gita*, (text, tr., and Sri Aurobindo's comments), (Auro-publications), Pondicherry, 1974; see above, 5.4
122. JINARĀJADĀSA, Kuruppumallage, *The BG*, (Theosophical Press), 1915.
- JOHNSON, Francis, *Selections from the MBh*, (Allen), London, 1842, XIII, 265 pp.
123. JOHNSTON, Charles, *BG. The Songs of the Master*, (introd., tr. and com.), (Theos. Soc.; Flushing), New York, 1908; (Robinson & Watkins), London, 1965; see above, 5.5.
124. JOSEPH, Martin P., Rev. Br., *The BG*, (St Anthony's H.S.), Duler-Mapusa, 1978.
125. JUDGE, William Quan, *BG. The Book of Devotion*, (Aryan Theos. Soc.), Pointloma-California, (1890-91), 1922; Bombay, 1965. See Dutch 11; German 9; Swedish 1; French 1; Spanish 9.
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127. KĀMAKSHIDĀSA, (pseud.), *SBG or The Song Divine*, (a true verse for verse tr. in simple English rhyming), Madras, 1963.
128. KANTO, Keshob, *The Message of the Gita*, (tr. and summary in simple and easy-to-understand English, of only 388 verses), (Bholanath Borooah Educ. Trust), Gauhati-Assam; (Sadhana Press), Calcutta, 1966.
129. KARMAKAR, R. D., *Śrī Bhāshya of Rāmānuja*, 3 vols., (Univ. of Poona), 1959-62.
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131. KESHAVADAS, Sadguru, *The BG. Thus sang Lord Krishna*, (Dasasharma Research Publ.), Bangalore, 1968.
132. KESHAVADAS, *The Singing Gita*, (Temple of Cosmic Religion, Stotter), Detroit, 1976.
133. KHANNA, Baij Nath, *The Lights of BG*, (150 verses with tr. and notes), (The New Lights Publ. Soc.), Delhi, 1934.
134. KHEDKAR, R. V., *BG. First Discourse*, (text, tr., esoteric explanation and philosophical meanings), Kolhapur, 1912.
135. KINCAID, Charles August, *Tales from the Indian Epics*, (illustrations by M. V. Dhurandar), (H. Milford, Oxford Univ. Press), Bombay-Madras, 1918.
136. K. M. (V. K. Govind Menon?), *BG*, (tr. and com.), (India Press), Kottayam, (1905), 1966.
137. KUDALKAR, Janardan Sakhārām, *BG*, (tr., notes, preface and summary), (Anglo-Sanskrit Press), Lahore, 1907.
- KULKARNI, G. V., see OSBORNE, A.



138. LAHIRI, Praphulla Kumar, *Song Sublime or Geeta*, (verse tr.), Calcutta, 1956.
139. LAHIRI, Subodh Chandra, *Divine Psalm*, (poetical tr.), 1950.
140. [LAKHANI], *Gitamamthi Cunti Khadela*, (108 ślokas in Gujarati and English), Bombay, 1970.
141. LAL, Purushottam, *The BG*, (a verse tr.), (Writers' Workshop), Calcutta, 1965; 1974 (rev.).  
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142. LINGEN, J. R. K., De, *Concordance to the BG*, (with annotated transl. in supplement), (Phil. D. Thesis), Edinburgh, 1948.
143. MACFIE, John Mandeville, *The MBh. A Summary*, (based on M. N. Dutt's version), (C.L.S. for India), Madras, 1921.  
— MAHARAJ, see BON.
144. MAHARAJ, Bhaktipradipatirtha, *BG*, (Gaudiya Mission), Calcutta, 1942 (2nd); 1948 (rev.), xxxii + 626 + 57 pp.
145. MAHESWAR, *BG in the Light of Sri Aurobindo*, (tr. in consonance with Sri Aurobindo's interpretation, with extracts from his *Essays on the Gita*), (SABDA), Pondicherry, 1978.
146. MANJESHWAR, Saguna, *Krishna and the Pandavas*, (illustr. by R. Sengupta), (IBH Publ.), Bombay, 1969, 96 pp.
147. MASCARO, Juan, *The BG*, (tr. from Sanskrit with introd.), (Penguin Classics, C. Nicholls), Gr. Britain, (1962), 1975; (Rider & Co.), London, 1970. (Introduction, pp. 9-36; note on the tr., pp. 37-38; text, pp. 43-122); see above, 5.4; 5.5; Hin. 187; Tam. 21.  
— MATKARI, R. V., see SATWALEKAR, S.
148. MEHRA, Paramanand Sugnomal, *The Gītā in Pictures, Citramaya SBG*, (The Bolton Fine Art Lithoworks, Paramanand Publ.), Bombay, 1954; see above, 5.4; 5.5.

5. P. Lal is quite sincere about his "transcreation" of the BG:

"I first transcreated the Gita in 1947, in rhymed English verse. It was an adolescent experiment, and, though a couplet or two may not have been too bad, the iambs and anapaests sounded contrived, precious, and terribly archaic. Another attempt in prose, five years later, became too flat. The original has the dignity and memorability of a chanted poem. Prose is too thin a medium for it. The essential structure of the Gita, however, is question-and-answer. Arjuna questions; Krishna answers. The tone is lofty, but intimate; highly serious, but friendly; sacred, but colloquial. The present translation attempts to preserve the dialogue spirit of the Sanskrit, a spirit marked by simplicity, grace, brevity and clarity. *Madhurya* and *Ojas*, sweetness and strength, constitute the Gita's excellence of style: sweetness of persuasion and strength of conviction. This translation is part of a larger project — a condensed version of the MBh — which I completed in 1964." (Preface)

P. Lal's MBh translation from the Sanskrit is a ten/twelve-year project to transcreate the entire MBh — "at the rate of 30 ślokas a day, Sundays included, this will take ten years!". It is "the only version combining prose and verse". Fascicles should appear monthly. The first fascicle appeared in 1968. Fasc. 96 appeared 10 years later, covering the final sections of the 5th parvan of the MBh....

149. MILMAN, H., Rev., (Sketch of BG philosophy, with tr. of some verses in eight-line measure), *Quart Rev.*, (Calcutta), 45; see J. Garrett, ed., *BG*, Appendix, Additional notes, pp. 111-19; Kan. 24.
- 149a. MINOR, Rob., *BG, An Exegetical Commentary*, (Foreword by N. Hein), (Heritage Publ.), New Delhi, 1982.
150. MIRCHANDANI, Lakshmi, *Gita-essence for Children*, (Yoga-Vedant. Forest Univ.), Rishikesh, 1954.  
Also, *Gita for the Young*, Ananda Kutir, 1954.
151. MISRA, Adya Prasada, *The BG*, (ch. 1, Hindi paraphrase and English prose tr.), Benares, 1910; (see Hin. 140).
152. MĪŚRA, Vedāntācārya Swāmī Tulasīrāma, *Trimārgagā Gitā*, (Sanskrit, Hindi and English tr.), (Śānti Press), Agra, 1926; (see Hin. 148).
153. MITRA, Bābu Pramadā Dāsa, *The BG or the Divine Ode*, (Tara Pr., Freedom & Co.), Benares, 1896; see above, 5.4.
154. MODI, P. M., *The BG. A Fresh Approach*, (with special reference to Śankara's *Bhāṣhya*; Foreword by K. M. Munshi, Preface by F. Otto Schrader), (Ananda Pr. Press), Bhavnagar, 1955.
155. MOHANTY, Kumar Kishore, *Sermon Supernal: Gita in Verse*, (Bhavan's Bk. Univ., 222; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), Bombay, 1977; (the translator admits his mental stresses, of which he was cured reading the Gita; the translation was finished in one month); see above, 5.4.
- MONIER-WILLIAM, Sir Monier, *Hinduism*, (Non-Christian Religious Systems Series, SPCK), London, 1901, (on BG, pp. 206-21), or *Indian Wisdom* or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus, (Allen & Co.), London, 1875, (on BG, with quotations in own translation improving that of H. Milman, pp. 136-54).
- MUIR, John, *Original Sanskrit Texts* (with extracts from the MBh), 1858-72; *Additional maxims and Sentiments from the MBh, Freely Rendered into English Verse*, Edinburgh, 1876; *Miscellaneous Extracts Metrically and Freely Translated or Paraphrased from the MBh*, Edinburgh, 1877; *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, London, 1879.
156. MUKERJI, Dhan Gopal, *The Song of God*, (J. M. Dent & Sons), London, (1931), 1932, 166 pp.  
Used by Nicol Macnicol, ed., *Hindu Scriptures: Hymns from The Rigveda, Five Upanishads and the BG*, introduced by Rabindranath Tagore, (Dent), London, 1938; (Everyman's Libr.), 1944.
157. MUKHARJI, Jogindranath, *The Young Men's Gita*, (introduction, tr., notes, index, glossary), (S. K. Lahiri & Co.), Calcutta, 1900; see above, 5.4.
158. MUKHOPADHYAYA, *The BG*, (with Śankarācārya's com.), (Cooperative Press), Calcutta, 1900-2.
159. MUKHOPADHYAYA, Shiboprasanna, *SBG: A Treatise on Yoga Philosophy of the Aryans*, (chs. 1, 4, 6, with explanations in Bengali and English), Calcutta, 1915; (see Ben. 162).
160. MUKHOPADHYAYA, S. C., *The MBh*, (tr. into English prose with esoteric com.), Calcutta, 1899.
161. MURDOCH, John, *The MBh, an English Abridgment*, (with introd. and notes), (The Sacred Books of the East described and examined: Hindu Series, 3; Christ. Lit. Soc. for India), London, 1898.



162. NARANG, Gokul Chand, *Gītā-sāra. Essence of the Gita*, (text and tr.), (New Books Soc. of India), New Delhi, 1956.
163. NARASIMHAN, Chakravarty V., *The MBh. English Version of the Main Narrative Based on Selected Verses of the Epic*, (Columbia Univ. Press), New York; (Oxford Book Co.), Calcutta, 1965, XXV, 254 pp.
- NARAYANA, Gadhadhara, see VISHVANAND, K.
- NARAYAN, R. K., *The MBh*, (abridged), (Viking Press), 1978.
164. NARAYANAN, V. Lakshmi, *Light of India: Quintessence of Indian Philosophy, Vedas, Upanishads and BG*, (selected verses, pp. 66-91), (Jain Bros.), New Delhi, 1957; see above, 5.4.
165. NICOLAS, Antonio T., De, 'The BG: The Song of Embodied Vision', in his *Avatara: The Humanization of Philosophy through the BG*, A philosophical journey through Greek Philosophy, contemporary philosophy and the BG, on Ortega y Gasset's intercultural theme: Man and Circumstance; including a new tr. with critical notes on the BG; Prologue by Raimundo Pannikar, (Inst. for Adv. Stud. of World Religions, Nicolas Hays Ltd.), New York, 1976; see above, 5.4<sup>6</sup>.
166. NIKHILANANDA, Swami, *The BG*, (tr. from Sanskrit, with introd., notes and com.), (Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre), New York, (1944), 1952.
167. NOOTEN, Barend A., Van, *The MBh*, (Twayne's World Authors Series, 131), New York, 1971.
168. NOTT, S. C., *The MBh of Vyasa . . . .*, (Phil. Libr.), New York, 1956.
- OMAN, J. C., *The Great Indian Epics. The Stories of the MBh* (Outline and extracts), (Bohn's Standard Libr.), London, 1899; also *Struggles in the Dawn: The Stories of the Great Indian Epics*, Lahore, 1893.
169. OSBORNE, Arthur and KULKARNI, G. V., *BG*, (Sri Ramanasramam), Tiruvannamalai, 1973; published serially in "*The Mountain Path*".

6. A. de Nicolas defines his purpose as follows: "to resurrect the BG from the ashes of its own concrete circumstantial situation and to give meaning to ourselves while giving meaning to the BG" (p. 21). Yet, it is still to be seen in how far this existentialistic approach influences his translation of the ancient text. Though the translation is called "*The Song of Embodied Vision*", it is left hanging, by its very fidelity to the original, as a disembodied insertion in-between the profound philosophical speculations of the translator-commentator. In fact, the translation is printed all by itself in the midst of the book. But the author does not dogmatize about his own achievement:

"If interpretation is a radical activity of man which he must do in order to continue his life as a man, then the interpretation of a 'text' like the BG is condemned to the same fate. Then, it is not the case that the activity of interpretation is to produce a definite text, a text which once for all will stand fixed for all men to read . . . This is the simple reason why a new interpretation (of a life or of the BG) is always needed. There is always a new confrontation, a new rationality demanding to be met. There can never be a final interpretation, but it must always be new, perhaps less dogmatic, always more more more like man himself . . ." (p. 168)

170. OXLEY, William, *The Philosophy of Spirit, Illustrated by a New Version of the BG, an Episode of the MBh, one of the Epic Poems of Ancient India*, (tr. of BG as an esoteric text), (Hay Nisbet & Co.; E. Allen), London, (1881), 1903.
171. PANDE, Surjan Lan, "Shanti Prakash", *The Adi BG*, (84 verses with tr. and com. in Engl. and Hindi), (Sadharana Dharma Sangh), Faizabad, 1936. See Hin. 176.
172. PANDIYAJI, Brahmasri Satchidananda Yogi R. Śivaśankara, *BG-sāra-bodhini. The Essential Teachings of the BG*, (selected stanzas with tr.), (Hindu Excelsior Series, 15: 1855), 1897.
173. PANDYA, J. J., *The Holy Gītā*, (Kitābghar), Rajkot, 1944.
174. PANOLI, Pravachanacharya V., *Gita in Sankara's Own Words*, (Foreword by B. D. Jatti), 4 vols., (S. Paramasivan), Calicut, 1975; Madras, 1980.
175. PARAMĀNANDA, Swāmi, *The Blessed Lord's Song, SBG*, (The Vedanta Centre), Boston, (1913), 1940.  
Used by Lin Yutang, ed., *The Wisdom of India*, (A Four Square Book, London), (1944), 1964, pp. 47-103<sup>7</sup>; see above, 5.4; see below, Spanish 11.
176. PARRINDER, Edward Geoffrey, *The BG*, (a verse tr. in English forms of iambic metre and rhymed words; with preface and appendix), (Sheldon Press), London, 1974; see above, 5.2; 5.4-5.
177. PATEL, Baburao, *The Sermon of the Lord or BG*, (introd., tr. in simple verse, Attributive names of Krishna-Arjuna, glossary, subject-index), (Girnar Publ.), Bombay, 1962 (2nd); see above, 5.4-5.
178. PATIL, Moro Nanaji, *Gītā subhāshitam or Wise Words from the Gita*, (Gujarati and Engl. com.), Bombay, (1928), 1935; see Guj. 67.
179. PICARD, Barbara Leonie, *The Story of the Pandavas, Retold from the MBh*, (illustrated by C. Stewart), (Dobson), London, 1968.
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Used in Lewis Browne, ed., *The World's Great Scriptures. An Anthology of the Sacred Books of the Ten Principle Religions*, (MacMillan), New York, (1946), 1961, pp. 99-119; quoted in *Great Religions of the World*, (National Geographic Society), 1971, pp. 164; re-edited by S. Prabhavananda, with the assistance of F. Manchester

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## CHAPTER VI

### TRANSLATIONS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

#### 6.1. *Translations into Latin*

Latin, the Indo-European mother-language of the modern Romanic group, was at one time the lingua franca of the vast Roman Empire, the clerical language of the Middle Ages and until recently the liturgical language in the Roman Catholic Church (Latin rite) all over the world. An easy 'Church Latin' developed, based on the Latin Bible translation (called Vulgate) by St Jerome, ca. 382 A.D. This became the standard text until a new 'Vulgate' was prepared recently, in 1977. There were very early Roman contacts with India, as is testified, for example, by the description given by Mela Pomponius. Latin inscriptions have been found on coins in South India. Luxury goods were transported from India to imperial Rome and philosophical ideas travelled with them. At least three Latin versions of the Pancatantra were prepared (via Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Pahlavi) before Marco Polo reached India. In about 1725 Father Beschi translated the Tamil Kural into Latin; and in 1792 Fra Paolino de Santo Bartholomeo published in Rome a learned treatise, entitled *Systema Brahmanicum*, and in 1798 the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana*, known as *Amarakośa: Amarasimha seu Dictionario Samascrada cum versione Latina*.

More influential was the indirect Latin translation of the Upanishads by the Frenchman Anquetil du Perron (1731-1805) who first worked in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, before going to India. In Surat, he discovered the Avesta and published it as Zend-Avesta in 1771. The *Oupnek'hat* which he then set out to translate was the Persian version of the Upanishads, made in 1656 by the prince Dārā Shikoh, brother of Aurangzeb. Realizing that he was in fact dealing with a Sanskrit text, he decided to translate the text into Latin, rather than French. This first translation, though indirect, of a Sanskrit text into Latin was completed in 1796<sup>1</sup>.

1. Printed in 2 vols. as *Oupnek'hat, i.e. secretum legendum*; opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continens antiquam et arcanam scientiam theologicam et philosophicam doctrinam e quatuor sacris Indorum libris, Rak Beid, Djedir Beid, Sam Beid, Atharban Beid excerptam (i.e. the four Vedas)... Paris, 1801-2.



“ Du Perron did not know Sanskrit, but despite the imperfections of his translations, (his work) made an important contribution to European knowledge. It caught the attention of the German philosopher Schelling, and later of Schopenhauer, who in 1813 praised it as ‘ a production of the highest human wisdom ’ and adopted an upanishadic motto, ‘ whosoever knows God, himself becomes God ’.”<sup>2</sup>

The Nalopākhyāna episode of the MBh was translated directly from Sanskrit by F. Bopp: *Nalus, Carmen Sanscritum e Mahabharato*, London, 1819, while the first Latin selections from the BG were prepared by O. Frank in 1820<sup>3</sup>. A.-W. von Schlegel was the first to bring out a complete Latin translation of the BG (1823). He was also a pioneer in the textual criticism of the BG, restoring the original text ‘ as it was most faithfully and respectfully preserved since the day it flowed from the lips of the divine seer ’. He was also convinced that “ the Latin language is very apt for a translation of Sanskrit books . . . If I were equally competent, however, to write in Greek, I would have preferred to use Greek only for one reason: namely that it lends itself more freely to the composition of new terms through combination of various words and suffixes, and thus comes closer to a quality of Sanskrit itself.”<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, von Schlegel preferred Latin to his own native German, or to French or English. In modern languages too many auxiliaries and prepositions are required, while compound words are avoided and words are placed in a logical sequence, without the charming inversions of classical authors. Latin is a compact and synthetic language. Through inflections it can express additional notions and different relations in one and the same word. Although there are not as many compound words as in Greek, yet, without destroying the characteristic quality of the language, one can also in Latin construct new combinations for translation<sup>5</sup>.

Von Schlegel felt great sympathy for the content and the teaching of the BG. Unfortunately, he could not, like his great predecessors Jones and Wilkins, stay in India. He wrote in 1832:

2. D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, p. 211. See also G. LANCZKOWSKI, *Heilige Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1956, p. 91: “ Sie wurde das tägliche Andachtsbuch Arthur Schopenhauers, der in überschwenglichem Lobpreis, in den Upanishaden die Ausgeburth höchster menschlicher Weisheit sah ”.
3. Other early Latin translations of Indian texts are: L. POLET, *Candī* (Devīmāhātmya from Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa), Berlin, 1831; A. STENZLER, *Raghuwamśa: Kalidasae Carmen*, in Sanskrit and Latin, London, 1832; P. VON BOHLEN, Bhartrihari's *Śringāra-śataka*, Berlin, 1833; A. ROSEN, *Rigveda* (incompl.), London, 1838.
4. See C. LASSEN, *BG*, rev. ed., Bonn, 1846, Praefatio, pp. L and LI.
5. A.-W. DE SCHLEGEL, *Réflexions. . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

“ If the study of Sanskrit had only procured me the satisfaction of enabling me to read this marvellous poem in the original, all my pains would have been largely compensated. It is a sublime mixture of poetic and philosophical genius . . . Since a few writers are intent on denigrating the moral equality and intellectual capacity of the Indians, let us proclaim it with a loud voice: their ancient wise men have spoken most worthily about the supreme Being, in as far as the limitations of human faculties can go; they conceived the possibility of an intimate union between the soul and the divinity; they have taught the purest ethics, and universal charity . . .”<sup>6</sup>

Following the Indian tradition, von Schlegel begins his translation with a dedication to the unknown author of the song, the sacred seer who draws the mind to the eternal; then follows the first ‘lectio’ (without title) and the opening verse: “ In campo sancto, Kuruis campo [already in 1846 corrected for the revised edition by C. Lassen: in agro sancto, Curûs agro], congressi proeliabundi nostrates Panduidaeque quid fecerunt, o Sanjaya ?” The translator made good use of the adaptability of Latin to render the proper names of the conches blown by the generals, as follows: Gigantea, Theodotes, Arundinea, Triumphatrix, Dulcisona, Gemmiflorea (BG 1.15-16). Some equivalents appear rather far-fetched, e.g. *śrī bhagavānurvāca* (2.2) is rendered as *Almum Numen loquitur*, and *parantapa* as *Hostium Vexator* (2.3).

Samples of the translation are given for a few representative verses:

‘ Quando relinquit cupiditates omnes, quae animum afficiunt, secum semetipso contentus, tunc confirmatus in sapientia (*sthitaprajna*) dicitur.’ (2.55)

‘ In hoc mundo duplex vitae institutum olim a me promulgatum est, vir innocue: scientiae (*jñānayoga*) destinatione rationalium, et operum (*karmayoga*) destinatione devotorum (*yogī*).’ (3.3)

‘ Qui haud sollicitus de operis fructu opus peragendum peragit, is et abdicator (*sannyāsi*) est et devotus.’ (6.1)

‘ Tu es summum numen (*parabrahma*), summa mansio, lustramen praestantissimum. Te genium (*purusha*) aeternum, coelestem, Divis priorem, innatum, dominum, declarant omnes Sapientes.’ (10.12)

‘ Cunctis religionibus (*dharma*) dimissis me tamquam unicum perfugium (*śaranam*) sectare: ego te ab omnibus peccatis liberabo. Noli moerere.’ (18.66).

It was von Schlegel’s advice to read only a few important books in Sanskrit, rereading them continuously, rather than to read a huge quantity of books. For his students he provided also the Latin *Hitopadesa, id est Institutio Salutaris*, with text and commentary (1831), in such

6. *Ibidem*, p. 93.



excellent Latin that they can be compared with Virgil and Horace<sup>7</sup>. With the support of Goethe, von Schlegel also started a Latin translation of the Rāmāyana, but completed only *kānda* 2.20.

List of Latin translations:

1. FRANK, Othmar, 'Bhagavadgītāe loca selecta cum versione', in *O. Frankii Chrestomathia Sanskrita*, 17 vols., 1820-21, vol. 2, part 3, 83-115.
2. LASSEN, Christian, rev., *BG, id est Thespesion Melos* . . . (see Latin 3 below); editio altera auctior et emendatio cura Christiani Lasseni, i.e. an enlarged revision of A.-W. von Schlegel's version, Bonn, 1846.
3. SCHLEGEL, August-Wilhelm, von, *BG, id est Thespesion Melos sive Almi Chrisnae et Arjunae Colloquium de Rebus Divinis, Bharateae Episodum*; textum recensuit, annotationes critices et interpretationem Latinam adjecit Augustus Guillemus a Schlegel, Bonn, 1823; repr. in J. Garrett, *BG*, App. with Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī, pp. 1-29 and Latin tr., pp. I-XXXV, Bangalore, 1849; Schlegel's apostrophe to the unknown author is translated in Arnold's translation; see above, English 31; below, French 13.

## 6.2. Translations into Greek

Homeric Greek, as found in the great epic *The Iliad*, dates from ca. 800 B.C. The great works of the numerous philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, the dramatists such as Sophocles, and the orators like Demosthenes, were written in classical Greek. Biblical Greek, as found in the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible by Jews in Alexandria (2nd c. B.C.) and in the original New Testament of early Christianity, follows a "vulgar" *koinè* Greek. Considering the numerous and frequent cultural contacts between ancient India and Greece, it is not impossible that a Greek rendering of the BG may have been produced. After the military contacts of Alexander<sup>1</sup>, Chandragupta Maurya married a Greek princess,

7. See W. ERNST, *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie*, vol. 1, part 1, Strassburg, 1917, p. 78. For reviews of von Schlegel's Latin translation of the BG, see H. H. WILSON, in *The Oriental Quarterly Review*, Calcutta, 3 (1825), 51; A. L. de CHÉZY, in *Journal des Savants*, Paris, 4 (1823), 105-16, 236-52; 5 (1824), 240-52; 6 (1825), 232-50; A. LANGLOIS, in *Journal Asiatique*, 7 (1824), 105ff.; 8 (1825), 240ff., to which von Schlegel answered in the same journal with 'Observations sur la Critique du BG', 9 (1826), 3-27, provoking another criticism by Langlois in *ibidem*, p. 185. In German we have the reviews by F. BOPP in *Göttinger gel. Anz.*, (1824), 37-38, and von Humboldt in *Indischer Bibliothek*, 2 (1827), 218-58, 328-72.

1. For a recent, detailed study of this event, see P. H. EGGERMONT, *Alexander's Campaign in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia*, Leuven, 1975; also A. WEBER, 'Griechen in India' in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1890, pp. 930ff.; G. N. BANERJEE, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961; N. M. CHAPEKAR, *Ancient India and Greece: A Study of cultural contacts*, Delhi, 1977,

and the Greek envoy Megasthenes stayed at Pataliputra. It remains a debated question whether Megasthenes was acquainted with the BG<sup>2</sup>.

The first western orientalists were convinced that "it is impossible to read Vedānta or the many fine compositions in illustration of it without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the Indian sages" (W. Jones)<sup>3</sup>. No evidence has been found so far to suggest the existence of even (fragments of) the BG in Greek literature or even to its direct influence on ancient Greek thinking.

In the 11th c. A.D. a Greek version was prepared of the Pancatantra, based on Arabic and Pahlavi sources. Considering the specific structure of the Greek language, von Schlegel would have favoured it as the medium for rendering a Sanskrit text (see above, p. 289).

Modern Greek varies slightly from ancient Greek and is spoken by ca. 10 million people in Greece, Cyprus and Turkey. The earliest rendering of the BG into modern Greek was prepared by the Greek Orthodox clergyman Demetrios Galanos (1760-1833) who had come to Calcutta to look after the spiritual welfare of a Greek community in Calcutta and Dacca. While staying in Benares he completed the translation of the BG, in 1802<sup>4</sup>. Seven volumes of his Greek translations from the Sanskrit, including extracts from the MBh and verses of Bhārtṛhari were published posthumously in Athens. The BG appeared in the 3rd volume, printed in 1848 in Greek characters:

GALANOS, Demetrios, *Gita, è Thespesion Melos*, Athens, 1848; [tr. from Sanskrit, with an introduction and annotations; foreword by G. K. Tupaldos].

A contemporary comments: "We must name with the highest eulogy a most able Greek translation prepared at Benares, by the learned Greek Orientalist, Demetrios Galanos, with the assistance of the Brahman Kandadarsa . . . This, it will be seen, is by far the best translation which exists while the notes which accompany it are in every respect invaluable."<sup>5</sup> The same author also translated extracts from the MBh, *Iticasa-samoutsāia*, Athens, 1851. An anonymous translation of a *Bālābhārata*

2. See above, p. 69.

3. 'Political thought, the European Tradition', quoted in D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 378, n. 102.

4. See S. A. SCHULZ, 'Demetrios Galanos, a Greek Scholar in India', in *German Scholars on India*, ed. by Cultural Dept. of Embassy of Federal Rep. Germany, Bombay, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 251-63. His Greek translation of the Hitopadeśa was published in Athens in 1851.

For more details about Galanos (Athens, 1760-Benares, 1833) see C. VOGEL, *Indian Lexicography*, in J. GONDA, *A History of Indian Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 367-68; also C. LAL, ed., *India cradle of Cultures*, Delhi, 1960, pp. 300ff.

5. J. C. THOMSON, *The BG*, Hertford, 1855, p. XX.



(è *suntomè tès Macabharatas poiètheisa hupo tou Amaracandra*), Athens, 1848, is also found.

A transliterated Greek version of 18: 66 sounds as follows: " Afise káthe ánkhos hé êfre sé ména móno katafiyyo, thá sé eleftheróso akó óles tís amarties. Mí thlibese " (Abandon all religion-of-fear and take full refuge in me alone; I will free you from all sin. Don't worry).

Note: Armenian

As a member of the Indo-European group, Armenian " may be most closely related to Greek " <sup>6</sup>. It is spoken by about 3.5 million people, mainly in the eastern half of Modern Turkey, but also in the bordering areas of the USSR, in the U.S., Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, France and even in India. There are traces of the Krishna cult in Armenia up to the 4th century <sup>7</sup> and Armenian communities settled in India in the 18th century. A reader for school-children, *Hordorak*, was the first book in Armenian printed in India, in 1772. No translation of the BG has been found.

### 6.3. Translations into German

German is spoken by about 100 million people in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland, with a clear distinction between ' High German ' and the dialects called ' Low German '. An important impetus to the development of modern German was given by the publication of Luther's Bible in 1534 <sup>1</sup>.

Before Peiper brought out the very first complete German translation of the BG in 1834, there had been a long history of Sanskrit studies in Germany, of which Raghavan says that " outside India, one can say without exaggeration, that it has been a second home of Sanskrit " <sup>2</sup>.

About 500 years ago we find a German translation of the Pancatantra, *Das Buch der byspel* [Beispiele] *der alten wysen* [Weisen], by Anthonius von Pforr (1488), based on Sanskrit via Pahlavī, Old Arabic, Hebrew

6. C. F. and F. M. VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-24.

7. D. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 393, n. 142.

1. Incidentally, the very first book printed by a German was a Latin Vulgate Bible, in 1455; the first book printed in German was a pre-Lutheran Bible, in 1466.

2. V. RAGHAVAN, *Sanskrit and allied indological studies in Europe*, Madras, 1956, p. 37. For a short description of the beginning and development of Sanskrit studies in Germany, see ' Sanskrit Studies outside India ', I, II, in *News Bulletin* of the I.A.S.S., No. 2, Weimar, 1979, pp. 40-69. Also W. LEIFER, *India and the Germans. 500 Years of Indo-German Contacts*, Bombay, 1971 (German ed., Tübingen, 1969).

and Latin<sup>3</sup>. The Dutch version of Bhartrihari's verses (see below, p. 302) was translated into German in 1663. Much Sanskrit literature became known in Germany through translations from English: *The Code of Gentoo Law* in 1778, the (pseudo) *Ezour Vedam* in 1779, the *Bagavadam* in 1791, *Sacontala oder der Entscheidende Ring* by F. Forster in 1791 (the first direct translation of *Śakuntalā* was made in 1833 by B. Hirzel)<sup>4</sup>, and Wilkins' *BG* in 1801, by F. von Mayer. J. G. Herder had only selected a few representative stanzas of the BG, in free translation, for his 'Thoughts of Some Brahmins' (1792).

An indirect translation of the *Manusmṛiti* by J. C. Hüttner appeared in 1797 and one of the Upanishads (based on Du Perron's Latin rendering, see above, p. 288) in 1808. These translations deeply influenced the German philosophers Schelling, Schopenhauer and Hegel<sup>5</sup> at the beginning of the 19th century. Friedrich von Schlegel — the younger brother of A.-W. von Schlegel who translated the BG into Latin (see above, p. 289) — quoted a few passages of the BG in his own metrical translation (1808), together with lines from the Rāmāyana, Manusmṛiti and Śakuntalā. These were the first direct translations from Sanskrit into German.

The German pioneers in Indology were mainly trained in France, with A. L. de Chézy (F. Bopp, A.-W. von Schlegel, C. Lassen and J.-G. Gildemeister) or with E. Burnouf (R. Roth and Max Müller<sup>6</sup>). Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt started to study Sanskrit in 1821, after he had become Prussian minister of education. After reading the BG he thanked God that he had lived long enough to read such an inspired book, "perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show" (1827). He published a lengthy review of von Schlegel's Latin translation of the BG and delivered a famous lecture on the BG before the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, 1825.

A spate of translations appears after Peiper (1834), who increased the value of his metrical rendering by copious grammatical, mythological and philosophical notes. F. Lorinser (*BG*, 1869) was convinced that the

3. See G. FRIEDMAR, *Beispiele der alten Weisen*, des Johann von Capua, Übersetzung der hebraischen Bearbeitung des Indischen Pancatantra ins Latin, Berlin, 1960. T. Benfey made the first direct translation (1859) after the text was critically edited by J. G. L. Kosegarten, *Pantschatantrum*, Bonn, 1848.

4. Goethe became so enthusiastic about this drama that he felt that East and West could no longer be separated: "Wer sich selbst und andere kennt, wird auch hier erkennen: Orient und Okzident sind nicht mehr zu trennen" (quoted in W. LEIFER, *op. cit.*, p. 155).

Herder is supposed to have said that such a drama as Śakuntalā appears only every two thousand years.

5. See below, Bibliography, under Hullin M.

6. For notes on Max Müller, see above (p. 236) in the section on Indology in England.



author of the BG not only knew and frequently utilized the scriptures of the New Testament, but also wove into his system Christian ideas and views in general. F. Hartmann (BG, 1892) only quoted parallel passages from German mystics, without drawing unwarranted conclusions about priority or dependence.

The prolific writer R. Garbe<sup>7</sup> not only made a translation (1905) but also defended the theory of the two layers of the BG, which maintains that following the composition of a basic original treatise, a new edition (with additions) was made in the first century A.D.

In the Introduction to his own translation of the BG into English (1946) Edgerton remarks:

"Garbe's book contains not only a careful and excellent scholarly translation, but an introduction in which the translator undertakes an analysis and interpretation of the text. According to Garbe, the text is a composite work. He believed that the original kernel was a 'sāmkhya' treatise, (using the term Sāmkhya as denoting a dualistic philosophical system like that known in later India under this name), which was later worked over and expanded by an adherent of the (later) Vedānta philosophy. He thought he could detect and eliminate these later Vedānta accretions, and he printed them in a type of smaller size in his translation . . .

"My own interpretation tacitly assumes the unity of the Gītā. There seems to be no definite reason for any other assumption . . . The sanctity which it acquired in the eyes of the Hindus has protected it to an extraordinary degree from changes and from textual corruption."<sup>8</sup>

A similar dissection of the text was made by R. Otto (1935)<sup>9</sup> who dedicated his research on the Ur-Gītā to Richard Garbe. According to Otto, the original nucleus of the Gītā is in perfect continuity with the epic context, without doctrinal teaching or religious tenets. To this nucleus a doctrinal treatise was added, with further explicative comments. The nucleus of the Gītā, in Otto's edition, is printed in heavy type, the additions being in light type. To the nucleus belong verses of ch. 1; 2.1-13, 20, 22, 29-37; 10.1-8; 11.1-51; 18.58-61, 72-73. Verses 3.9-18 would

7. Of the same author appeared the following books: *Indische Reiseskizzen*, Berlin, 1889; *Beiträge zur Indischen Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1903; *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914 (with a reference to the legend of the white island — *śvetadvīpa* — in MBh 12.337-338).

8. F. EDGERTON, BG, p. XIII.

9. R. OTTO, *Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen, Die BG*, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 7. He also wrote *Indien, Gnadenreligionen und das Christentum*, Gotha, 1930 and founded, in 1921, the Religious League of Humanity (Religiöser Menschheitsbund) which was later linked to the World Congress of Faiths.

be an example of an addition<sup>10</sup>. Besides these, Otto identifies quotations, as in 8.9, which are supposed to constitute an ancient hymn.

Whatever is the value of the hypothesis, Otto has no doubt produced a powerful rendering, as appears from the fine verses below:

“Ein Krieg, der von selbst (ohne dass man ihn verschuldet hat) ihnen kommt, einen solchen nehmen Ritter mit Freuden auf als ein off'nes Tor zum Himmel.” (2.32)

“Ein Mann gefestigter Weisheit heisst man, wenn man alle ins Herz gedrunghenen Begehungen abtut und nur am (innern) Selbst rein durch das Selbst sein Genügen findet.” (2.55)

“Werk-verzicht und Werk-yoga beide wirken das Hail, aber unter beiden ist Werk-yoga besser als Werk-verzicht.” (5.2)

“Wer Mir mit bhakti auch nur ein Blatt, eine Blume, eine Frucht oder Wasser spendet, das nehme Ich, weil es mit bhakti gespendet ist, als aus frommem Gemüte kommend, gnädig an.” (9.26)

“Vergangen ist die Verwirrung. Besonnenheit habe Ich aus deiner Gnade erlangt, o Arjuna. Fest steh' Ich, von Zweifel befreit. Dein Geheiss werde Ich erfüllen.” (18.73)

Paul Deussen (1845-1919) was an outstanding philosopher as well as a translator. He translated large portions of the Upanishads<sup>11</sup> and ‘four philosophical texts from the MBh’, the most important being his rendering of the BG (1906). He was of the opinion that the actual text of the BG was rather a pantheistic document, changed into a theistic one, which could now be divided into an ethical part (chapters 1-6), a metaphysical part (ch. 7-12) and a psychological part (ch. 13-18).

The poetic translation of Robert Boxberger (1863) aimed at a philosophical as well as a literary faithfulness; the text was reworked into a real masterpiece by Helmuth von Glasenapp (1955), with a freshness and clarity rarely equalled in any other language. As a technical aid von Glasenapp added quotation marks for expressions like ‘Andacht’ for *yoga* or ‘Eigenschaft’ for *guna*, suggesting these terms have a precise meaning which is explained in the Introduction and the Glossary of his translation. A few quotations illustrate the fine quality of the rhymed translation:

In dieser wie in jener Welt  
Kann niemals einer untergehn,  
Der etwas Gutes hat getan,  
Denn das, was gut, bleibt stets bestehn. (6.40)

10. Recently, research on similar lines has been undertaken by M. Jezic; see his penetrating analysis *Textual Layers of the Bhagavad Gītā as Traces of the Indian Cultural History*, in (hand-out) *Abstracts of the Fourth Sanskrit Conference of the I.A.S.S.*, Weimar, 1979, p. 28. See p. 66.

11. P. DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1897.



Es gibt nichts Höheres als mich,  
 Das Einzig-Eine bin ich nur,  
 Um mich ist dieses All gereiht  
 Wie Perlen an die Seidenschnur. (7.7)

Der ewige, der höchste Geist,  
 Der nur durch Liebe wird erkannt —  
 Er ist's, der alle Wesen birgt,  
 Der dieses All hat ausgespannt. (8.22)

Durch Liebe dann erkennt er mich  
 Nach meinem allerhöchsten Sein  
 Und geht unmittelbar danach  
 Zu mir in die Vollendung ein. (18.55)

When preparing his translation of the BG (1912)<sup>12</sup> the aim of L. von Schroeder was neither philosophical nor artistic. He wanted the truth to be lived through experience and the Indian tradition provided sufficient grist for his mill, since he was convinced that the Indians were the romanticists of antiquity and the (19th c.) Germans the romanticists of modern times. Such a conviction may partly explain why "of all European nations German's response to India was most enthusiastic and open-hearted"<sup>13</sup>.

In his Introduction von Schroeder strongly emphasizes that the BG is not merely a beautiful poem of philosophical speculation, but mainly an earnest message to be lived. This is not a cold command but finds its motivation in *bhakti* ('Gottesliebe'). Against this background, the following verse in translation appears like an urgent call emphasizing the need for action in union with God:

"Drum wirf auf mich hin all dein Tun, nur denkend an den höchsten Geist; Nichts hoffend und begehrend nichts, so kampf, frei von allem Schmerz." (3.30)

Living this message unto death (1917, during the First World War), T. Springmann produced his German translation of the BG (published in 1921), possessed by the Krishna concept of duty. The strong ethical impact of the Gītā on his personal life is reflected in his Introduction:

"To drudge away at some kind of job is not to 'work'. Only he who comprehends life and sketches out a widely-drawn guideline for his labours knows how to work.

"The energy devoted to abstract philosophy, to the most world-withdrawn religion is not spent in vain, as long as one is able to

12. Of the same author are: *Indiens Literatur und Kultur in historischer Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1887; *Pythagoras und die Indier*, Leipzig, 1884; he also wrote a drama 'Dara oder Schah Dschehan und seine Söhne', Mittau, 1891, about Dara Shikoh, the unfortunate brother of Aurangzeb.

13. D. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 270.

apply the spiritual strength gained through this study to practical life."<sup>14</sup>

The translation of E. Richter, *Gesang des Erleuchteten* (1965, rev. 1974) can be mentioned as a recent standard version. Like most German translators he presents a poetic rendering, faithful to the original by translating the ordinary *śloka*s in 3 lines and the *trishtubha*s in 4 lines. Spiritualizing the dramatic scene — the battle-field of the soul to obtain true illumination — the translator respects the epic style of chapter one and maintains a repetitive (indoctrination) style throughout the rest of the poem.

For the sake of comparison, a few samples are given of the translation of BG 1.1, classified chronologically:

R. BOXBERGER, 1863 (von Glasenapp, 1955):

Was taten auf dem Kuru-feld,  
O Sandschaya, im heil'gen Land  
Die Meinen und die Pandaver,  
Von heisser Kampfbegier entbrannt ?

F. LORINSER, 1869:

Auf heil'gem Feld, dem Kuru-feld  
gesammelt kampfbegierig da  
Die Mein'gen und die Pāṇḍava,  
was thaten sie, O Sandchaja ?

F. HARTMANN, 1900:

Berichte, Wagenlenker, was geschah,  
Als auf dem heil'gen Felde Kurukschetra  
Die Schar der Unsern und die Pandavas  
Zur Schlacht bereit sich gegenüberstanden.

R. GARBE, 1905: Was taten die Meinigen und die Pāṇḍavas, als sie sich auf dem heiligen Felde, auf dem Kurufelde, kampfbegierig versammelt hatten, O Saṁjaya ?

P. DEUSSEN, 1906: Als im heiligen Lande, im Kurulande, zusammentrafen, um zu kämpfen die Meinigen und die Pāṇḍava's, was taten sie da, o Saṁjaya ?

L. von SCHROEDER, 1915: Im heiligen Land, im Kuru-land, zusammentreffend kampfbereit, was taten dort, o Sanjaya, die Meinen und die Pāṇḍava ?

14. Quoted in W. LEIFER, *op. cit.*, p. 138.



R. OTTO, 1935: Auf dem heiligen Feld, dem Kuru-Feld versammelt in Kampfeslust, die Meinigen und die Pāṇḍava's — was taten sie, o Samjaya ?

S. LIENHARD, 1958: Was taten, O Samjaya, die Meinen und die Pāṇḍavas, da sie kampfbegierig sich auf dem Felde des Rechtes, dem Kuru-Felde, gegenübertraten ?

Svāmī BHAKTIVEDANTA, 1974 (tr. from English): O Sañjaya, was taten meine Söhne und die Söhne des Pāṇḍu, als sie sich an der Stätte der Pilgerfahrten, in Kurukṣetra, versammelt hatten und danach verlangten zu kämpfen ?

List of German translations:

1. (AUROBINDO), *BG, Vom grossen Werk, das dich vollendet*, Büdinger-Haingründau, 1955; (tr. of *Essays on the Gītā*, by J. Mühlhling).
2. (BHAKTIVEDANTA, Svāmī), *BG wie sie ist*, (tr. by T. Pettersson, C. Jansen and P. Brinkman); Hamburg, 1974; see above, Eng. 54.
3. BOETTGER, C., *BG*, Württemberg, 1924.
4. BOXBERGER, R., *Probe einer Uebersetzung der BG, des Liedes der Gottheit, eines philosophischen Gedichtes der Inder*, Erfurt, 1863; (32 pp.); see above, p. 296.
5. BOXBERGER, R., *BG oder das Lied der Gottheit*, Berlin, 1870; (complete rhymed translation); see below, GLASENAPP, von.
- BRINKMAN, P., see BHAKTIVEDANTA.
6. DEUSSEN, P. and STRAUSS, O., *Vier Philosophische Texte des MBh: Sanatsujāta Parvan, BG* (pp. 31-107), *Mokshadharma, Anugītā*, Leipzig, 1906. Review by R. FRITSCH in *Vierteljahrschriftliche Philosophie und Soziologie*, 31 (1907), 350. See also P. DEUSSEN, *Der Gesang des Heiligen. Eine Philosophische Episode des MBh*, Leipzig, (1906), 1911; see Rumanian 3 and above, p. 296.
7. GARBE, R., *Die BG*, (1905), 1921 (rev.), 1978; (tr. from Sanskrit with Introduction about its original form, its doctrine and age). Review by JACOBI, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 24 Dec. 1921, 11 Feb., 8 April, 15 July 1922. Introduction to the tr. into English by Rev. Machickan, Bombay, 1918; see review by J. S. SPEYER, in *Museum*, Jan. 1906, pp. 129-33; see Rumanian 3 and above, p. 295.
8. GLASENAPP, H., von, *BG, Das Lied der Gottheit*, Stuttgart, (1955), 1974; (reworked version of Boxberger). See W. NOELLE, *Helmuth von Glasenapp, Interpreter of Indian Thought*, Max Müller Bhavan Publ., 1964.
9. GLUECKSELIG, C. J., *BG, Das Buch der Ergebenheit, ein Lehrgespräch zwischen Krischna und Arjuna*, Nürnberg, 1905; (tr. of Judge's English).
10. HARTMANN, F., 'Die BG, das Hohe Lied', in *Lotusblüthen* 1898-99; also published by Theosophisches Verlaghaus, Leipzig (1904), 1924 (4th ed.); (tr. of Arnold's English).
11. HARTMANN, F., *Die BG, das Lied von der Gottheit, oder die Lehre vom göttlichen Sein in verständlicher Form ins Deutschen übertragen*, Braunschweig, 1892; 1897; Berlin, 1903; (with parallel quotations from German mystics); see above, p. 295.

12. HAUER, J. W., *Eine indo-arische Metaphysic des Kampfs und der Tat, Die BG in neuer Sicht*, (with translation), Stuttgart, 1934.
13. HERDER, J. G., *Thoughts of some Brahmins*, (free translation from Bhartrihari, *Hitopadeśa* and *BG*), 1792.
14. KRAEMER, I., *BG. Gesang des Erhabenen*, Zürich, 1954; (tr. of Prabhavananda and Isherwood's English).
- JANSEN, C., see BHAKTIVEDANTA.
15. LIENHARD, S., *Die BG*, Wiesbaden (n.d.), 1958 (2nd ed.); with Introduction and Commentary of Radhakrishnan.
16. LIETZ, G., *Die BG*, Stuttgart, 1961; (Sanskrit and German); (see Eng. 30).
17. LORINSER, F., *Die BG*, Breslau, 1869; (metric tr.). The appendix 'New Testament Borrowings' appeared also in English in *Indian Antiquary*, Oct. 1873; see above, p. 294.
18. MARTENS, H., *BG, Gesang des Erhabenen*, Starnberg-am-See, 1947.
19. MAYER, F., von, 'Aus dem BG', (incomplete tr. of Wilkins) in *Sammlung Asiatischer Originalschriften*, Zürich, 1801, vol. 1, pp. 321-330; also in Jules Klaproth, *Asiatischer Magazin*, Weimar, 1802.
- MUEHLING, J., see AUROBINDO.
20. MYLIUS, K., *Die BG*, (introd., tr., notes, glossary), Leipzig, 1978.
21. OPPERMAN, M. A., *BG*, Roux (Belgium), 1901.
22. OTTO, R., *Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen, Die BG*, (Jena, 1920), Stuttgart, 1935; (Introd., pp. 1-25; tr. with notes, pp. 26-106; additional notes, pp. 107-71); translated into English by J. E. Turner, *The Original Gita. The Song of the Supreme Exalted One*, London, 1939; see above, Eng. 254 and p. 295.  
See also R. OTTO, *Die Urgestalt der BG*, (tr. with commentary), Tübingen, 1934, and *Die Lehrtraktate der BG*, Tübingen, 1935.
23. PEIPER, C. R. S., *BG oder das Hohe Lied des Indus*, Leipzig, (1834), 1869; (metric tr.; with linguistic, mythological and philosophical notes); see above, p. 294.
- PETERSSON, T., see BHAKTIVEDANTA.
24. RICHTER, E., *BG, Gesang des Erleuchteten*, Bremen-Oberneuland, 1965, 1968, rev. ed., 1974; see above, p. 298.
25. SCHLEGEL, F., von, (tr. of passages from the *Rāmāyana*, *Manusmṛiti*, *Śakuntalā* and *BG*: 1.20-25; 1.44-2.8; 2.11-38, 45; 4.1-10; 5.3-4, 19-21, 23-25; 6.10-15, 18-22, 25-31; 7.1-28; 8.15-16); see U. OPPENBERG, *Quellenstudien zu Fr. Schlegels Uebersetzungen aus dem Sanskrit*, Marburg, 1965; and A. PAREL, 'Friedrich Schlegel and the Beginning of Sanskrit studies in Germany', in *Jo. of Indian Hist.*, 54 (1976), 550.
26. SCHMIDT, K., *BG, das Hohe Lied der Tat*, München, 2nd ed., 1968.
27. SCHROEDER, L., von, *BG, des Erhabenen Sang*, Jena, (1912, 1922...), (30th ed. 1955), 1959 . . . , 1980. Also in *Religiöse Stimmen der Völker: Die Religionen des alten Indien*, II; and *Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1887; see Rumanian 3 and above, p. 297.
28. SPRINGMANN, T., *BG, Der Gesang des Erhabenen*, Lauenburg an Elbe, (1920), 1921; see above, p. 297.
- STRAUSS, O., see DEUSSEN, P.



We should also refer to the following works:

- BECKER, J., *MBh, der grosse Krieg*, Berlin, 1888; (verse tr.).
- BOPP, F., *Ueber des Conjugationsproblem der Sanskritsprache*, Frankfurt, 1816; (comparison of Sanskrit with Greek, Latin, Persian and 'Germanic', with translation of selected passages from *Rāmāyana*, *MBh*, *Veda*).
- BUKART, C. J., 'Der Gesang des Erhabenen. Gedanken zu einer Neuausgabe des BG', in *Das edle Leben*, 12 (1963), No. 3, 20-24, Stuttgart.
- HOLTZMANN, A., *Indische Sagen*, Karlsruhe, 1845-47; (with selections from the *MBh*); revised by M. Winternitz, Jena, 1913.
- PORZIG, W., *Die wichtigsten Erzählungen des MBh*, Leipzig, 1923-24.
- (ROY, B.), ed., *Das MBh. Ein altindisches Epos*; tr. into German by E. ROEMER, Düsseldorf, 1961.
- RUECKERT, F., 'Einige Uebersetzungen aus dem MBh'; (in verse), in *H. W. Freiherr von Tettau Festschrift*, ed. D. Boxberger, Erfurt, 1876.
- SCHRADER, F. Otto, BG-extracts in *Der Hinduismus*, Tübingen, 1930.

#### 6.4. Translations into Yiddish

Jews who emigrated from Russia and Poland into Germany developed a special German speech, containing a large amount of Slavic and Hebrew words. The language is now spoken also in e.g. London and Israel. It is usually written in Hebrew characters. One translation was found (in Hebrew script):

Aba KLIGER, *BG, Das Getlekke Lid*, 1955.

#### 6.5. Translations into Dutch

The Old Germanic Dietsch developed into modern Dutch, spoken by ca. 12 million people in The Netherlands and ca. 5 million people in Belgium where it is called Flemish (the other national language of Belgium is French). South-African (Zuid-Afrikaans) is an anglicized form of Dutch, exported by the Boers in the 19th c. As the official language of the former Dutch colonies, Dutch is also understood (and spoken) by people in Indonesia and Surinam.

From the 16th c. onwards the Dutch became competitors of the Portuguese and the English for the supremacy of the seas and countries in South-East Asia, and we find very early accounts in Dutch of the travels in Asia, of the religion of the Hindus and of the languages: *Verhaal*

van de Tweede Reis van Vasco da Gama naar India, in 1502<sup>1</sup> and the *Itinerario* by Van Linschoten, in 1596<sup>2</sup>.

Abraham Rogerius (1609-49), a Calvinist preacher in Paliacotta (near Madras), reported on the ancient Brahmanical literature. He discovered the 7th century poet Bhartrihari and translated some extracts with the help of the Brahmin Padmanābha, through the medium of Portuguese<sup>3</sup>. This indirect translation of 200 verses of the *Vairāgyaśataka* and the *Nītiśataka* has been called the first translation of a Sanskrit work into a European language.

Soon after this publication, Philippus Baldaeus (probably using some Portuguese monographs)<sup>4</sup> produced in Amsterdam (1672) a scholarly linguistic and geographical study<sup>5</sup>, while Ketelaer of the Dutch East India Company produced the first handwritten 'Hindustani' grammar, at Lucknow, in 1698<sup>6</sup>.

1. J. DENUCE, *Calcoen: verhaal van de tweede reis van Vasco da Gama naar Indië 1502-3*, in fac simile uitgegeven met inleiding en notas, Antwerpen, 1931.

2. J. H. VAN LINSCHOTEN, *Itinerario: voyage ofte schipvaert van-naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selver landen ende see-custen . . . Waer by ghevoecht zijn . . . die conterfeytsels vande habyten, drachten enz . . . met die ghedenckweerdichste geschiedenissen, voorgevallen den tijt zijnder residentie aldaar*, Amsterdam, 1596; reference in P. A. TIELE, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van land — en volkenkunde*, Amsterdam, 1884.

The *Itinerario* was edited by Kern in 1910, with a rev. ed. by Terpstra, in 1955.

For a complete bibliography of Dutch publications related to Indian studies (from 1504-1966), see the *Catalogue of the Exhibition* held in the Belgian University of Ghent, in 1966.

3. A. ROGERIUS, *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom ofte waerachtigh ver-toogh van het leven ende zeden mitsgaders de religie ende godsdiens der Bramines op de cust Chormandel, ende de landen daar omtrent . . . Met korte aenteykeningen*, Leiden, 1651.

With also: *Hondert spreucken van den heydenschen Barthrouherri, onder de Bramines op de Cust Chormandel befaemt, handelende van de wegh na den hemel [Vairāgyaśataka] en Hondert . . . handelende van den redelijcken ommegangh onder de menschen [Nītiśataka]*; a new edition was prepared by W. CALAND, ed., *De Open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom door Abraham Rogerius*, 's Gravenhage, 1915.

4. See W. CALAND and A. FOKKER, *Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeïsme*, Amsterdam, 1915.

5. P. BALDAEUS, *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzenden ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon. Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen . . . zijnde hier by gevoegd een Malabaarsche spraakkonst*, Amsterdam, 1672.

6. See K. DUTTA, *Dutch in Bengal and Bihar*, Delhi, 1968.

In this context we may also mention S. A. B. COHEN, ed., *Brātā Joedā*, (i.e. Bhārata-yuddha, a Javanese poem founded on the MBh), with Javanese and Dutch translation, 2 vols., Batavia, 1860.



Although the Dutch eventually 'settled' in 'East India', there were scholars like Herbert de Jager of Leyden who mastered Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil. Later, Hamaker became professor of Sanskrit at Leyden, even before his eminent disciple Kern occupied the first chair of Sanskrit, in 1865. Meanwhile Forster's German *Śakuntalā* (see above, p. 294), was translated into Dutch (1792) and Hamaker translated extracts of the *Rāmāyana* in 1823. Later, Indological studies in Holland were mainly focused on the Vedas, Indian religions, grammar and the history of Indian art, with famous scholars like Vogel, Gonda and others.

The first translation into Dutch, based on Sanskrit, of fragments of the BG was made by Van Limburg and appeared in 1861. Annie Besant's translation was translated into Dutch by Gazan in 1897<sup>7</sup>. The first complete and scholarly translation was produced by J. W. Boissevain, *BG, des Heeren Lied*, translated from Sanskrit and published in 1903. A completely revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1909 and again in 1919. After the Introduction, the translator gives a good survey of existing translations (34 English, 10 German, 6 French, 5 Spanish, 5 Dutch and 3 Italian) and a good bibliography. Boissevain also translated into Dutch the *Yoga-Soetras* of Pātanjali (1918). For the third revised edition of the BG the translator adds a note explaining his rendering of *karma* as 'werk' and not as 'werken' or 'handelingen' (deeds), in order to keep away from the old controversy between Catholics and Calvinists in Holland about the theology of deeds.

Fragments of a Dutch translation of the BG appear in the Ph.D. Thesis of B. Faddegon on Śankara's *Gītābhāṣya* (1906). In about 1910, D. Van Hinloopen Labberton (in Java) brought out his metric rendering of the BG, based on Sanskrit, followed by Kes in 1919 and Sukul (from Surinam) in 1958. A Dutch translation of Śrī Ramana Maharshi's *The Song Celestial* was made by Mees in 1950. A paraphrasing translation, meant to give the essential message of the BG, was prepared by W. Burger (1971). After telling briefly the MBh story, the author quotes verses of the BG in literal prose translation, in order to illustrate the teaching of Krishna.

The most recent translation is by Janson (1980), based on the English rendering of Svāmī Prabhavānanda and C. Isherwood (1944). The translation of Svāmī Bhaktivedanta was rendered into Dutch by H. D. Adhikari. It is noteworthy that of the complete translations of the BG into Dutch only 2 or 3 are based on, Sanskrit while others use an English translation.

7. See J. S. SPEYER, *De Indische Theosophie en hare betekenis voor ons*, Leiden, 1910 [notes on the Gītā on pp. 190-202].

## Sample translation of BG 2.47:

(BOISSEVAIN, 1903, based on Sanskrit): Uw bemoeiing zij met het werk alleen, nimmer met de vruchten [er van]; de vrucht van het werk zij geen beweegreden, heb gij geen neiging tot niet-werk.

(ADHIKARI, based on Bhaktivedanta, ca. 1975): Je hebt het recht je voorgeschreven plicht te vervullen, maar de vruchten ervan komen je niet toe. Zie jezelf nooit als oorzaak van het resultaat van je bezigheden, en tracht nooit je plicht te verzaken.

## List of Dutch translations:

1. an., *BG*, Symposium Reeks, De Driehoek, Amsterdam, 1970; (based on the tr. of Purohit Svāmī, for the Stichting School voor Filosofie, Amsterdam).
2. ADHIKARI, H. D., *De BG zoals ze is*, Amsterdam, n.d.; (based on the tr. of Svāmī Bhaktivedanta); see above, Eng. 54.
3. BLOK, J. A., *De BG*, Oriënt Serie, Kluwer, Deventer, n.d.; 3rd ed., 1962.
4. BOISSEVAIN, J. W., *BG, Het Lied des Heeren*, Theosophische Uitgeversmaatschappij, Amsterdam (1903), 1919; see above, p. 303.  
A review is given by H. G. VAN DER WAALS, 'Om en in Boissevain's interpretatie van de BG', in *De Gids*, 1909, pp. 283-95.
5. BURGER, W. C., *Ardjoena de Boogschutter. Een legende uit het oude India*, Oriënt Serie, Kluwer, 1971; (paraphrase summary of the MBh, with selected verses of the BG on pp. 88-103).
6. FADDEGON, B., *Camkara's Gītābhāṣya toegelicht en beoordeeld*, Diss., Amsterdam, 1906.
7. GAZAN, 'De BG of des Heeren Lied', in *Theosophia*, Amsterdam, vols. 4-5 (Feb. 1896, April 1897) (tr. of Besant).
8. HUGENHOLTZ, P. H., (selections from the BG) in *Levenslicht uit vroeger eeuwen*, Amsterdam, 1889, pp. 24-27. See also his *Ethische Pantheïsme*, Amsterdam, 1903, pp. 15-17 and *Bloemlezing*, Amsterdam, 1912, pp. 205-14.
9. JANSON, J., *BG, het Lied des Heren*, Sirius and Siderius, Den Haag, 1980.
10. JUYNBOLL, H. H., *Drie boeken van het oud-javaansche MBh, in Kavitekst en nederlandse vertaling, vergeleken met den Sanskrit-tekst*, Diss., Leiden, 1893.
11. KES, L., *De BG: het boek van Yoga*, Baarn, (1904), 1909; (based on the English translation of W. Q. Judge).
12. KEUS, C., *BG*, Oriënt Serie, Kluwer, Deventer, 1969.
13. MEES, G. H., *De Quintessens der BG bestaande uit 42 verzen, uitgekozen door Sri Ramana Maharshi en in Indische versmaat in het Nederlands vertaald*, Servire, 's Gravenhage, 1950; (in English, *The Song Celestial*).
14. SALOMONS, H. J. W., (selections from the BG) in *Gewijde Verhalen en Legendes van Hindoes en Boeddhisten* (with illustrations), Zutphe, 1916, pp. 116-24.
15. SCHUVER, C. J., *De BG of des Heeren Lied*, Theosophische Uitgeverij, Amsterdam, 1908; (metric tr. based on the tr. of Arnold).



16. SUKUL, J. P. K., *De BG*, Diss., Nederlandse vertaling en Beschouwingen, Utrecht, 1958; den Haag, 1959, 148 pp.
17. VAN DISHOECK, C., *BG, Het Boek van Devotie. Samenspraak tussen Krishna, Heer van devotie, en Arjuna, vorst van India*, Bussum, 1949; (tr. from English).
18. VAN HINLOOPEN LABBERTON, *Het Heilandslied: een metrische vert. van Sjriemad Bhagawad-Gietaa, naar het Sanskrit origineel*, Buitenzorg, (ca. 1910), (Widya Poestaka, Hollandsche Serie, 1, II); with musical notes for singing.
19. VAN LIMBURG-BROUWER, P. A. S., *BG*, (selected verses) in *De Gids*, Jan.-March 1861, pp. 1-37 and 323-51.

#### 6.6. Translations into Swedish

About 8 million people speak Swedish, mainly in Sweden. In 1821, a translation of *Śakuntalā* appeared, based on the German rendering of G. Forster and the English of W. Jones<sup>1</sup>. A touching note about the impact of the BG is found in a letter written by the famous story teller Andersson, one year before his death (1921):

"Once I was not able to bear darkness any longer. I was close to screaming it out... Then, I opened the BG and saw the rishi's wise face smiling peacefully... Tears came to my eyes... This Gita is not a book. It is the healing smile of eternal wisdom. When a person is all frightened through life's difficulties, then on reading the Gita, his face brightens, he is flooded with an eternal loving splendour, even in the midst of the greatest opposition."<sup>2</sup>

One year later, in 1922, appeared the first Swedish translation, based on Sanskrit, by Nino Runeberg. Two quotations are given from this beautiful rendering:

"På Kurus slätt och Pliktens, o Sanjaya, vad gjorde väll mitt folk och Pandus söner, då lystna efter strid de samlats där?" (1.1)

"Din omsorg gälle gärningen allena, och ej din gärnings frukter; — låt ej dessa förleda dig att handla, eller fjättra din hög a själ i dådlös-hetens band!" (2.47)

#### List of Swedish translations:

1. an., *BG, Haugivandets Bok*, Stockholm, (1898), 1918; (based on Judge's English).
2. (BHAKTIVEDANTA), see above, Eng. 54.

1. See above, pp. 294 and 235.

J. EDELUNG, *Sakuntala, ett indiskt dramatiskt poem of Kalidas*, Stockholm, 1821.

2. Quoted (in Swedish) by W. Edilitz in his Preface to the translation of Runeberg (1973),

3. EIDLITZ, Walther, *BG, Herrens sång*, (Natur och Kultur), Stockholm, (1955), 1973; (revision of N. Runeberg's tr., with Preface).
4. JOHANNSSON, K. F., 'BG', in *Främmande Religionskunder*, (N. Söderblom, Stockholm), 2, 1908, pp. 167-215.
5. LEXOW, Frantz, *BG, Herrens Sang*, (Teosofisk Samfunds Danska Forlag), Stockholm, 1920.
6. LINDQUIST, C. Sigurd, *Till tolkningen av BG*, (Lundequist), Uppsala, 1941.
7. RUNEBERG, Nino, *BG, Herrens Sang*, (in verse), Stockholm, 1922, (see also EIDLITZ, W.).

#### 6.7. *Translations into Norwegian*

At least one translation of the BG is available for the 4 million inhabitants of Norway. It was made by LANGE-NIELSEN, *BG, Den Opphøyedes Sang*, (abrid. tr.), Oslo, 1971.

Comparing a point of striking similarity between Norwegian mythology and verse 15.1-4 of the BG<sup>3</sup>, Ranade notes:

"We have a conception of Igdrassil, or the ash tree, in the Scandinavian mythology where we are also told that it is our business to cut down that tree. The ash tree is not far different from the *Aśvattha*. So there is a parallelism between the BG (15.1-3) and the Scandinavian mythology."<sup>4</sup>

#### 6.8. *Translations into Danish*

Derived from Old Norse, Danish is spoken by only 5 million people on this small peninsula, North of Germany. Yet the contribution to Indological studies is old and not to be neglected. After Danish missionaries and merchants had arrived in India, in the 17th century, a translation of *Sakuntalā* (based on Forster's German) appeared in 1793, made by Hans West, headmaster of a Danish school in the West Indies. His work introduced Sanskrit literature into Denmark. A beautiful Danish translation from Sanskrit was made much later (1845) by M. Hammerich,

3. J. MASCARO, *The BG*, p. 106, ch. 15: "1. There is a tree of Transmigration, the *Asvattha* tree everlasting. Its roots are above in the Highest, and its branches are here below. Its leaves are sacred songs, and he who knows them knows the Vedas. 2. Its branches spread from earth to heaven, and the powers of nature give them life. Its buds are the pleasures of the senses. Far down below, its roots stretch into the world of men, binding a mortal through selfish actions. 3. Men do not see the changing form of that tree, nor its beginning, nor its end, nor where its roots are. 4. But let the wise see, and with the strong sword of dispassion let him cut his strong-rooted tree, and seek that path wherefrom those who go never return."
4. R. D. RANADE, *BG as a philosophy of God-realization*, (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), Bombay, 1965, p. 15.



whose interest in Sanskrit studies had been aroused by West's translation which he found 'so bad as to make the ill-treated beauties still more surprising'<sup>5</sup>.

At the beginning of the 19th century R. K. Rask published his pioneering statements about the similarity between Latin-Greek, Germanic languages and 'some source-language'. The famous Index to the *Mahābhārata* (1904) by S. Sørensen remains a landmark in the studies of the epics.

At the beginning of the 20th century, three translations of the BG appeared:

1. JESPERSEN, V., *BG eller Sangen om Guddommen*, Copenhagen, 1912.
2. SCHUMACHER, Alex, *BG, den helliger Sang*, Copenhagen, 1917; Strube, 1971; (tr. from English).
3. TUXEN, Paul, *BG, Herrens Ord*, (with Introduction), (G. Ugleboeger), Copenhagen, (1920), 1972.

We give two quotations from Tuxen's translation:

'Da mine Folk og Pändu-sønnerne kamplystne var stódt sammen paa den hellige Slette, Kuru-sletten, hvad gjorde de saa, Samjaya ?' (1.1)

'Din Opgave skal være Handlingen, men aldrig Handlingens Resultater; lad Dig ikke bestemme af Handlingens Resultater, men hengiv Dig ikke til Urviksomhed.' (2.47)

#### 6.9. *Translations into Icelandic*

The most westerly state and island of Europe, with its 200,000 inhabitants, Iceland also has taken the text of the BG into its tongue:

1. PETURSSON, Sig. Kristófer, *Hávamál Indíalands*, (with BG), (Prentsm. Gutenberg), Reykjavik, 1924.
2. SÖRENSON, Sören, *BG*, (Prentsm. G. Jóhannssonar), Reykjavik, 1965.

Note : No translation of the BG seems to have been made into the Celtic languages: Welsh (Wales, 1 million speakers), Breton (Brittany in France, 1 million speakers), Irish Gaelic (500,000 speakers) and Scottish Gaelic (75,000 speakers).

#### 6.10. *Translations into French*

French is spoken by approximately 75 million people, residing in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Canada, Haiti, West and Central Africa.

5. Quoted by Else Pauly (Copenhagen) in her paper, 'Sanskrit Inspiration in Danish Poetry', given at the Fourth Congress of the I.A.S.S., Weimar, 1979.

It is also known, as second language, by an additional 150 million people all over the world.

When Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed in Calicut in 1498, he opened a sea-route for European commerce and conquest. The Portuguese colonized Goa from 1510, and English merchants set up their 'East India Company' in 1599, strengthening their position by building Fort St George, the future Madras, in 1644. The United East India Company of the Netherlands was started in 1602 and gave the Dutch a foothold in Colombo about 1660. Meanwhile the Danes had established a trading centre at Tranquebar, and, finally the French took hold of Pondicherry in 1674.

In less than a century the French had to yield to the British, when European clashes were transferred to India and the battle for supremacy was settled with the defeat of Dupleix by Robert Clive.

Yet, the cultural interest of the French in India did not diminish and they continued to make outstanding contributions in the field of Indo-logical studies<sup>1</sup>.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier published his *Voyages* [travels] in India in 1676. Monsieur François Bernier spent 12 years at the Mughal court as physician, and made his impressions known to La Fontaine and Pascal. In 1731, the librarian of the French king was given a copy of the Rigveda. Père Pons in 'Chandernagore' made a Latin translation of a Sanskrit grammar and of the Amarakośa, and compiled the first catalogue of Sanskrit literature in 1739. Diderot wrote articles on Indian religion and philosophy in his enlightened *Encyclopédie* (1751).

Then, suddenly, the French amazed the world with an alleged version of the Yajurveda, which appeared as 'L'Ezour Vedam' (1778)<sup>2</sup>. Voltaire received it from an official returning from Pondicherry and presented it to the Royal Library in Paris "as the most precious gift for which the West has ever been indebted to the East". Soon it was found to be non-authentic. The disillusion was made good in 1787 when the first indirect French translation of the BG appeared from the hand of Rev. Parraud, based on the English version of Wilkins (1785).

1. For a detailed study (681 pp.) about the Indo-French cultural contacts, see J. BIÈS, *Littérature française et pensée Hindoue, des origines à 1950*, (Librairie C. Klincksieck), Paris, 1974.
2. G. DE CLERMONT-LODÈVE (Baron de Sainte-Croix), *L'Ezour Vedam, ou ancien commentaire du Vedam, l'exposition des opinions religieuses et philosophiques des Indous, traduit du Samscretam par un brahme*, 2 vols., (Sante Croix), Paris, 1778. The work has been described as a falsification unjustly attributed to Robert de Nobili.



The next year another indirect version of a Sanskrit work appeared: *Bagavadam ou Doctrine Divine* . . . , Paris, 1788<sup>3</sup>, which is a French translation of a Tamil translation of the Bhāgavata-Purāna. The translator was Maridās Poullé (Pillai) of Pondicherry, an Indian who knew French and Latin, besides his mother tongue Tamil.

Another Sanskrit work which provoked a vague of admiration in France was *Śakuntalā*, translated by Antoine Brugière from English (Jones) through German (M. Forster): *Sacontalā ou l'Anneau Fatal*, Paris, 1803.

Due to a fortunate coincidence, the study of Sanskrit was started in France at the beginning of the 19th century. When Alexander Hamilton, an Englishman returning from India, was retained in Paris due to Napoleon's campaigns, he started to teach Sanskrit to, among others, the German von Schlegel (see above, p. 289) and published a catalogue of Indian Manuscripts in Paris, aided by the Frenchman L. Langlès in 1807. The result was that Léonard de Chézy, who already knew Persian, took to Sanskrit studies and occupied Europe's first chair of Sanskrit at the Collège de France, Paris, from 1814 until his death in 1832. He undertook an independent, direct translation of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, and added to it a different version of the *Śakuntalā* episode from the MBh. His pupil and successor (from 1832 till 1853) Eugène Burnouf and sympathizing Indologists undertook an independent direct translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (1840), amid a growing number of translators and philologists (Deslongchamps, Langlois, Garcin de Tassy).

The first of the complete (direct) translations of the BG was prepared by Émile Burnouf and published in 1861. After his composition of a Sanskrit grammar and a dictionary, Burnouf meant this translation

3. This text was re-edited by Father H. Hosten s.j., *Rev. Hist. de l'Inde Française*, IV, 1st part, Pondicherry-Paris, 1921.

Some of the earliest French publications on Indology can be listed as follows:

- W. CALAND, *Twee oude Fransche verhandelangen over het Hindoeïsme*, Koninklijke Ak. Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, 1923. [A Dutch study of two French essays, dating from the end of the 17th c.: 'Relation des erreurs' and 'La Gentilité des Bengala' ].
- Father PONS, [writing from Karikal, Febr. 1740] 'Mémoires des Indes', in *Lettres Édifiantes*, XIV (1781).
- J. Z. HOLWELL, *Événements historiques intéressants relatifs aux provinces de Bengale et à l'empire de l'Indostan* . . . (tr. from English), (De Hansy), Paris, 1768.
- R. DODSLEY, *Oeconomie de la vie humaine*, ouvrages . . . d'un ancien Bramine (tr. from English), (J. Michel), Paris, 1774.
- *Bagavadam ou Doctrine divine*, ouvrage indien, canonique, sur l'Être suprême, les Dieux, les Géans [sic], les Hommes, les diverses parties de l'Univers, etc., Paris, 1788.

to be partly a text-book for his students studying Sanskrit. We translate from the (French) Introduction:

“Because of the metaphysics developed therein, this poem presents an immense variety of composite and abstract words... If one knows this little poem thoroughly, one can feel satisfied for having made great strides forward in the study of Sanskrit. Whatever be its theoretical value or the exact period of its composition, the BG contains the very essence of brahmanic philosophy. It makes us enter straightaway into a deeper knowledge of India.” (p. VII)

A translation of the text is also given, in such a skilful way as to give the student the ability to join again the split up *sandhi*. It would appear, however, that the very first French translation was made earlier and published only in 1886 (a reference is also found to Lanjuinais; see below, List of translations, No. 13).

In the Introduction to his English translation, D. C. Thomson (1855) refers to a handwritten French translation by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, who is famous as translator of the (Greek) works of Aristotle. “It is an excellent free translation, following in most essential points that of Schlegel and Lassen, but preferable to it from the viewpoint of clearness and explicitness.”<sup>4</sup>

Th. Pavie had already translated fragments of the MBh (1844), while P. Foucaux rendered eleven ‘episodes’ of the MBh into French in 1862. The prolific translator Hippolyte Fauche (1797-1869), who produced excellent versions of classical Sanskrit drama and poetry, including a 10-volume *Rāmāyana*, died before he could complete his MBh, up to book 10, published in 9 vols. in Paris (1863-70).

The natural quality of the French language for accurate expression as well as fluent reading is superbly exemplified in the translation of É. Sénart (1922), who also applied his talents to the translation of Upanishadic treatises. With the help of M. A. Foucher, the Sanskrit original of the BG was carefully transcribed and printed side by side with the French version. É. Sénart warns the reader against a too easy transference of the original concepts:

“One should not enter straightaway a world completely different from our way of thinking. The translator can often not avoid keeping the indigenous thought-pattern, since corresponding terms are not available in our language, not even similar expressions... Ideas, expressed in the BG, are indissolubly embedded in doctrines which are characteristic for the Hindu religious thinking. One would

4. J. C. THOMSON, *BG*, Hertford, 1855, p. XX.

Barthélemy's *BG* together with the *Sanatsujātīya* and *Anu-Gītā* was published in *Journal des Savants*, March-July (1886), 551-685.



naturally be tempted to understand them from a more universal viewpoint. But interpretations risk distorting the exact meaning of words by extending their significant area. Brilliant generalisations deduce often too hurriedly from history or even authentic documents such conclusions that cannot be accepted by the philologist, who tries to be faithful to the rigorous methods of his science and rejects them as too subjective and easily deceptive."<sup>5</sup>

Prof. Sylvain Lévi started lecturing at the Collège de France in 1894, at the age of 31. He held the view that the MBh was a unified composition, organically and artistically spread around a core of Bhagavata devotional discipline, which found its best expression in the BG. Joe Stickney, a young British Hellenist, who settled in Paris at the age of 21, attended the lectures on the Gītā from 1900 onwards and for three years visited his professor once a week, to discuss the translation of the Gītā<sup>6</sup>. Stickney left for Harvard but could not publish his translation, as he soon died of a tumour. Lévi edited the notes posthumously in 1938.

Inspired by their devotion to Aurobindo, C. Rao and J. Herbert translated his *Essays on the Gītā*, selected by A. Roy. A separate French edition of the BG, without Sanskrit text and commentary, appeared in 1941. We translate from the Introduction:

"We were careful not to omit anything from the Master's teaching which is always very profound but at times subtle and delicately formulated. We aimed at a rigorous fidelity to the form as well as to the sense of the original text, both in the commentary as well as in the translation of the verses. We agree that Aurobindo sometimes does not provide a literal translation [of the Sanskrit] but rather a commentated interpretation, a re-creation. The reader should, therefore, not be surprised to meet numerous and profound differences between this text of the Gītā and previous French translations. The latter were mostly the productions of grammarians who were more interested in unveiling the secrets of etymology, syntax and poetics than in transmitting the lofty spiritual message."

5. É. SÉNART, *BG, Le Chant du Seigneur*, Paris, 1944, 2nd éd., pp. IV and I.

6. We translate the note given by Madame Lévi about this unique co-authorship:

"He came to take supper with his master and immediately afterwards the work began. Each Sanskrit term was studied in detail, each corresponding term in translation was most scrupulously examined in order not to betray the profound meaning of the original. Obscure passages were treated with respect. There were prolonged meditations, first attempts at translation, corrections, rewording... till the hour came to stop. Then, the master, holding the lamp, would lead back his disciple down the obscure staircase of the old edifice."

S. LÉVI and J.-T. STICKNEY, *BG*, Paris, 1938, p. 4.

7. *La BG*, 5th ed., p. 13.

See also J. HERBERT, *Spiritualité Hindoue*, Paris, 1947; *Réflexions sur la BG vue dans son contexte*, Paris, 1976.

Previous translators are severely criticized by Madame Anne Kamensky who made the following remark about Burnouf, Sénart and others in the postscript of her translation (1947):

“These translations, though sometimes of literary quality, lack often fidelity. Some of them have even made abridgements in certain chapters. On the whole they are unsatisfactory interpretations, they meddle with the original sense. But in such masterly opus like the Gita, no poetic liberties are permitted. That is why I make this bold attempt to translate the BG afresh. No doubt, the translation may not be perfect, but at least it may claim greater fidelity to the original. An effort was made, however, to preserve the musical rhythm and the poetical freshness of the work.”<sup>8</sup>

In the Introduction to a later edition of Kamensky's translation (1964, p. 26), Jazarin criticizes her for underestimating the importance of the non-dualist teaching in the Gītā. In the dualist distinction between the individual self and the Absolute Self Kamensky's dependence on e.g. A. Besant's English translation becomes apparent. One would even be inclined to see a literal dependence, as in, for example, the translation of verse 7.10: ‘Freed from passion, fear and anger, filled with Me, taking refuge in Me, purified in the fire of wisdom, many have entered into My Being’ (Besant). ‘Libres de la passion, de la crainte et de la colère, pleins de Moi, cherchant en Moi leur refuge, purifiés dans le feu de la sagesse, beaucoup sont entrés en Mon Être’ (Kamensky).

A useful contribution of Kamensky's translation is found in the footnotes to the text, which give the renderings by predecessors. For the *mad-bhāvam-āgatā* of verse 4.10, she quotes in footnote Thomson (they enter my being), Burnouf (se sont unis à ma substance), Sénart (se sont fondus en Mon être) and Besant.

As a student of Olivier Lacombe, A.-M. Esnoul brought out a translation in 1972<sup>9</sup>. Highly interested in retracing the cultural context of the poem, she emphasizes the role played by the Gītā in the increasing devotion to Vishnu and points out that the poem was given the upanishadic status of *śruti*, whereas the rest of the MBh is only *smṛiti*. Consequently, the key for understanding the text is *bhakti* to Lord Krishna. In her Introduction (p. 16) she stresses the etymological connection between the Sanskrit root *bhaj* and the terms *bhagavān*, *bhagvanta* and *bhakti*<sup>10</sup>.

8. Our translation from A. KAMENSKY, *La BG*, Paris, 1947, p. 198. See also her Diss. (Geneva, 1926): *La BG, son rôle dans le mouvement religieux de l'Inde*.

9. A.-M. ESNOUL and O. LACOMBE, *La BG*, Paris, 1972. See also her *Ramanuja et la mystique vishnouite*, (Seuil), Paris, 1964.

10. For the different meanings of *bhakti* in Sanskrit, see M. DHAVAMONY, *Love of God according to Śaiva Siddhanta*, Oxford, 1971, p. 43.



In his Preface to the French translation (1975) of Svāmī Bhaktivedanta's English *The BG as it is*, O. Lacombe remarks that the French text "claims to be completely faithful to the English of Svāmī Bhaktivedanta, without adding any philological or doctrinal contribution" (p. xii).

As in the English translations, the *dharmakshetre kurukshetre* is rendered in different ways in French: le champ saint de Kuruxétra (Burnouf, 1861), le champ sacré, le Kurukshetra (Sénart, 1922), la sainte plaine, dans la plaine des Kuru (Lévi and Stickney, 1938), le champ de l'accomplissement du dharma (Aurobindo, tr. by Rao and Herbert, 1942), le saint champ de Kuru (Kamensky, 1947), le champ sacré au Kurukshetra (1972), le lieu saint de Kurukṣetra (Bhaktivedanta, 1975).

We quote a number of different renderings of verse 2.47:

AUROBINDO (Rao and Herbert, 1941): Tu as droit à l'action, mais seulement à l'action, et jamais à ses fruits; que les fruits de tes actions ne soient point ton mobile; et pourtant ne permets en toi aucun attachement à l'inaction.

SÉNART (1944): Ne te préoccupe que de l'acte, jamais de ses fruits. N'agis pas en vue du fruit de l'acte; ne te laisse pas non plus séduire par l'inaction.

KAMENSKY (1947): C'est l'action seule qui te concerne, jamais ses fruits. Que le fruit de l'action ne soit donc jamais ton motif, et qu'à l'inaction non plus tu ne sois jamais attaché.

ESNOUL (1972): Tu es commis à agir, mais non à jouir du fruit de tes actes. Ne prends jamais pour motif le fruit de ton action: n'aie pas d'attachement (non plus) pour le non-agir.

BHAKTIVEDANTA (1975): Tu as le droit de remplir les devoirs qui t'échoient, mais pas de jouir du fruit de tes actes; jamais ne crois être la cause des suites de l'action, et à aucun moment ne cherche à fuir ton devoir.

#### List of French translations:

1. an., *BG, le livre de consécration*, Loge unie des Théosophes, Tahiti, (1935); 1945; (tr. of Judge).
- ADHIKARI et alii, see BHAKTIVEDANTA.
2. AUROBINDO, Sri, *Essais sur la Gita*;
  - a. Sanskrit text of the BG in Roman transliteration, with French translation of 3 chapters, from *Essays on the Gita*, Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1941.
  - b. Translation of 7 chapters, rev. and corrected by the author; Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1947.
 See also Herbert, Rao, P. B. Saint-Hilaire; also A. Roy, ed., -English.

3. AUVARD, A. and M. SCHULTZ, *BG*, Paris, 1899; (translation and commentary, with Preface, Notes, Vocabulary; tr. of Besant and Bhagavan Das).
4. BARTHÉLEMY SAINT-HILAIRE, M. J., *BG*; in manuscript; referred to by J. C. Thomson, 1955. See also 'Livres sacrés de l'Orient: La BG avec le Sanatsoudjâtiya et l'Anou-guitâ' in *Journal des Savants*, March-July (1886), 557-685.
5. BHAKTIVEDANTA, A. C., Svāmī Prabhupāda, *La BG telle qu'elle est*, Paris, 1975; (tr. of the English *The BG as it is*; with Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī and in Roman characters); see above, Eng. 54.
6. BURNOUF, Émile, *La BG ou le Chant du Bienheureux*, Nancy, (1861) 1895; also published by Payot, Paris, 1923; see Spanish 4, Rumanian 3, 4 and above, p. 309.
7. CHÉDEL, A., *BG, le Chant du Seigneur*, Lausanne, 1971.
8. COURMES, D.-A., *BG, le Chant du Seigneur*, with Introduction and Appendix by S. Row, Paris, 1910; (tr. of Besant and Bhagavan Das).
9. ESNOUL, A.-M., and O. LACOMBE, *La BG*, Paris, 1977; (tr. into Italian: B. Candian). Also published in ESNOUL, A.-M., ed., *L'Hindouisme*, Paris, 1972, pp. 160ff.; see above, p. 312.
10. FAUCHÉ, H., *Le MBh* (poème épique de Krishna Dwaipayana, plus communément appelé Veda Vyasa, c'est-à-dire le compileur et l'ordonnateur des Vedas, traduit complètement pour la première fois du Sanscrit en Français), 9 vols. (books 1-10), Paris, 1863-70. See review by Hauvette-Besnault in *Journal Asiatique*, 9 (1867), 205.
11. HART, R. E., *BG, le Chant du Seigneur*, (fragments), Port-Louis, 1936.
- HERBERT, J., see RAO, C.
12. KAMENSKY, A., *La BG, le Chant du Seigneur*, (Introduction by A. Fraigneau, pp. 7-22; Notes, pp. 201-22), Paris, 1947; published also in *Courrier du Livre*, Paris, 1964; (with introduction by J. L. Jazarin); see above, p. 312.
- LACOMBE, O., see ESNOUL, A.-M.
13. LANJUINAIS, J.-D., *La BG* (ou le Chant Divin, dialogue de Cricna et d'Arjouna sur la religion. Épisode du grand épique des Indous, intitulé MBh); (tr. of A. von Schlegel); published in *Oeuvres*, vol. 4: *Recherche sur les langues, la littérature, la religion et la philosophie des Indiens*, Paris, 1832, pp. 135-245.
14. LÉVY, S. and J. T. STICKNEY, *BG*, Paris, 1938; see above, p. 311.
15. MARÇAULT, J. E., *La BG*, Paris, (1954), 1956; (tr. of Radha-krishnan).
16. MASSON-OURSSEL, P., *BG*, prepared in 1928-31; unpublished.
- MONOD-HERZEN, G. E., see PURANI, A. B.
17. PARRAUD, M., Rev., *La Bhagvat-Geeta* (ou Dialogues de Kreeshna et d'Arjoon, contenant un précis de la religion et de la morale des Indiens, traduit du Sanscrit, la langue sacrée des Brahmes, en Anglois par M. C. Wilkins, et de l'Anglois en François), Paris, 1787; rev. ed., Rhea, Paris, 1922.
18. PELET, L., *La Pensée religieuse de la BG: Le Chant du Bienheureux*, Lausanne, Paris, 1935; (a free rendering based on existing translations).
19. PURANI, A. B. and G. E. MONOD-HERZEN, *BG*, Pondicherry, 1947.
20. RAO, C. and J. HERBERT, *La BG*, (based on A. Roy, ed., *Essays on the Gītā*), (Spiritualités Vivantes), Paris, (1941, 1951), 1970; also published by Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, (1941), 1976; see above, p. 311.



- RĀMAGULĀMA, see above, Hin. 188 and below, No. 2.
21. RENO, L., *Anthologie Sanskrite* (textes de l'Inde Ancienne, BG 2.1-28, 55-72), Paris, 1961.
22. RIVIÈRE, J. M., (ed.), *La Sainte Upanishad de la BG*, (tr., introd., notes, 392 pp.), 1980.
23. SAINT-HILAIRE, P. B., *Sri Aurobindo, le Yoga de la BG*, (nouvelle version commentée), Pondichéry, 1969; (tr. of A. ROY, *Essays on the Gītā*, differing from the Rao selection and translation; see above, No. 20).
- SCHULTZ, M., see AUVARD, A.
24. SÉNART, É., *La BG*, Paris, 1922; (with 19 illustrations by H. Tirmann); 2nd ed. (with transliterated Sanskrit text; rev. by M. A. Foucher), Paris, (1944, 1967); see above, p. 310.
- STICKNEY, J. T., see LÉVI, S.
25. TREMISOT, E., *La BG, Le Chant du Bienheureux*, Paris, 1904; (musical adaptation for singer, choir and orchestra); also *La BG, le Chant du Héros* (paraphrase), Paris, 1908.

We should also refer to L. BALLIN, *La MBh*, 2 vols., Paris, 1899; Ph. FOUCAUX, *Le MBh* (onze épisodes tirés de ce poème épique: traduits pour la première fois en français), Paris, 1862; E. GATHIER, *La Pensée Hindoue* (étude et choix de textes), Seuil, Paris, 1960; E. LAMOTTE, *Notes sur la BG*, Diss., Paris et Louvain, 1929 (with a Preface by L. de la Vallée Poussin); M. A. MAZURE, *Essai sur la langue et la philosophie des Indiens*, Paris, 1837, pp. 266-82, (selected sentences from A. von Schlegel); T. PAVIE, *Fragments du MBh*, (French tr. based on a text of Calcutta), Paris, 1844; A. ROUSSEL, *Légendes morales de l'Inde* (empruntées du Bhāgavata Purāna et au MBh), 2 vols., Paris, 1900-1901; VILLE, F., *De, Perle des Indes*, Bruxelles, 1944.

#### 6.11. *Translations in Indian Ocean (French) Creole*

Creole languages resulted from contact with mainly English or French. There are two translations in the French Creole spoken in Mauritius (Seychelles and Réunion, ca. 300,000 speakers):

1. an., *À la Bhagwadguita !*, Port-Louis, 1959; (extracts, based on Judge, Eng. 126).
2. RĀMAGULĀMA, G., *Gītāmālā*, Pondicherry, 1957; (with Hindi and 'French' tr. for Morisas i.e. Mauritius, Seva Sangh).

#### 6.12. *Translations into Spanish*

Among the Romance languages, affiliated to ancient Latin, Spanish has an important place, being spoken in Spain and in most of the countries of South America (except Brazil where Portuguese is spoken). It is noteworthy that of the 12 complete Spanish versions of the BG, 7 were published in South America (the earliest being from Buenos-Aires, 1893)

and 5 in Spain. A Latin American Association of Sanskritists was constituted in 1980.

In the long Introduction to his translation, Marcovich (1958) discusses the meaning of certain terms (like God, means of salvation, etc.), often disagreeing with the opinions of Radhakrishnan and Edgerton. Interesting are his renderings for the different kinds of yoga: 'de la Meditación sobre Dios' (*dhyāna*), 'del conocimiento' (*jñāna*), 'de la devoción' (*bhakti*), 'de la acción' (*karma*), 'del Razonamiento' (*sāmkhya*), 'de la renuncia' (*samnyāsa*) and 'del control de sí mismo' (*ātmasamyama*).

As an illustration, we quote two verses from his translation:

'En el campo de la Rectitud, en el Campo de Kuru,  
Cuando se reunieron, ansiosos de pelear,  
Mi gente y los hijos de Pandu,  
Qué hacían, oh Samjaya?' (1.1)

'Abandonando el apego al fruto de la acción,  
Estando siempre contento e independiente,  
Tal (hombre), aun cuando está atareado con la acción,  
Sin embargo, no hace nunca nada.' (4.20)

List of Spanish translations:

1. ADRADOS, F., *BG*, (with introd.), (Ed. Nacional), Madrid, 1978.
2. (BHAKTIVEDANTA), see above, Engl. 54.
3. BOLUFER, J. A., *BG ó Poema sagrado*, (pref. by D. J. de los Reyes), Madrid, (1896), 1930.
4. BORRELL, J. R., *Diálogos entre Krishna y Arjuna, príncipe de la India*, with *BG, Canto del Señor*, Barcelona, (1896-97), 1910; (based on English and French translations).
5. FERREIRA, E., *BG*, Sao Paulo, 1973.
- 5a. FRABETTI, Carlo, *BG*, (Ed. Bruguera), Barcelona, 1978.
6. GUTIÉRREZ, J. B., *BG o Canto del bienaventurado*, Buenos-Aires, 1893; (based on Burnouf, see French 6).
7. MARCOVICH, M., *BG, El Canto del Señor*, Merida (Venezuela), 1958.
8. MASCARO, J., *BG, El Poema del Senyor*, Barcelona, 1935.
9. MONTOLIN, F., De, *BG*, Buenos-Aires, 1893; (based on Judge).
10. (RAMACHARAKA, Yogi), *BG*, Buenos-Aires, 1972 (8th ed.); (based on English).
11. TERRER, F. C., *BG, Canto del Señor*, Barcelona, 1908; (tr. of Besant).
12. TOLA, F., *BG*, Caracas, 1977.
13. VILLAMIL, L. and VIVIE, R., *SBG ó El Canto del Señor*, Buenos-Aires, 1924; (tr. of Svāmī Paramānanda).

#### 6.13. Translations into Portuguese

Portuguese is spoken in Portugal and Brazil (ca. 80 million speakers) and was the medium of very early contacts between Western Europe and India. Vasco da Gama 'discovered' the sea-route to India in 1498 and



the Portuguese were in Goa until 1961. A Portuguese Christian catechism was the first book to be printed in India (Velho Goa Press) in 1556 and Fr. Fenicio published his *Livro de Seita dos Indios Orientais* ca. 1600.

J. WICK, in an article entitled 'Old Portuguese Translations of Marathi Literature in Goa, c. 1558-60' [*Indica*, 12 (1975), 25], reveals that a young brahman, baptized as Manuel de Oliveira, made the first (yet unpublished) indirect translation of the Gītā into any European language. His attempt was completed by young Jesuit scholastics, who reacted most favourably to the Hindu text in front of them, as J. Wick relates:

"There follows an interesting passage from the most famous poetical creation of India, the BG, which is ascribed to Vyāsa... Vyāsa wrote the text in a 'dark' (obscure) language (Sanskrit) which no one could fully understand. Finally came another prophet, Dnyāndev (Dnyāneshwar), who clothed the poem in verse which at least some could understand. The teacher of the poet was called Nivrīti. Then follows in a free manner an extract from the BG, as Dnyāneshwar in his 13th book expounded it..."

Two renderings of the BG into Portuguese were published in Brazil:

1. ROHDEN, Huberto, *BG*, (Freitas Bastos), Rio de Janeiro, 1963.
2. VALDIMIR, Lorentz Fr., *BG, a Sublime Canção da Imortalidade*, Sao-Paulo, 1936.

#### 6.14. *Translations into Italian*

Although Italian is spoken by only ca. 55 million people and the Italians have not had the frequent contacts with India as had, for example, the Portuguese, we find a high number of Italian translations of the BG. Not long after Marco Polo's eastern tour the Italian Franciscan Friar Odoric travelled to the Delhi Sultanate (1320), and Nicolo de Conti made a visit to India at the beginning of the 15th century. We have already referred to the Italian Jesuit priest Roberto de Nobili (p. 219), who mastered Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit. In 1815, *Śakuntalā* was translated by L. Doria, based on the English and German versions.

After the 5-volume rendering of the *Rāmāyana* by G. Gorresio had appeared, S. Gatti brought out the first Italian translation of the BG, in 1859.

In 1902, P. Pavolini published his translation of select portions of the *Mahābhārata*, and C. Dinarajadasa and M. L. Kirby collaborated for a scholarly, literal version of the BG (1905). M. Kerbaker produced a standard poetic rendering of nearly the complete *Mahābhārata*, published posthumously in 1933-39.

A few quotations are sufficient to illustrate that in Italian quite different renderings are possible for one and the same verse.

## BG 1.1:

G. COGNI, 1973: Nel campo dei Kuru e del Dharma, vogliosi di combattere, la mia gente e i figli di Pandu, che fecero, o Samjaya ?

RAPHAEL, 1974: O Samjaya, che cosa hanno fatto i miei (uomini) e quelli di Pāṇḍu, quando — sul campo del *dharma* (*dharmakshetre*), il sacro campo dei Kuru bellicosi si sono messi di fronte ?

Bianca CANDIAN, 1976: Radunati nel campo sacro, nel Kurukṣetra, impazienti di combattere, che fanno i miei uomini, o Sañjaya, e quelli di Pāṇḍu ?

Raniero GNOLI, 1976: Nel campo della giustizia, nel campo dei Kuru, luogo di incontro di tutti questi guerrieri, che cosa fecero i miei uomini, che cosa i Pāṇḍava, o Sañjaya ?

## BG 2.47:

Giulio COGNI, 1973: Tu hai diritto all'azione: non ai frutti; e quindi i frutti mai non ne siano il motivo; ma non attaccarti all'ozio !

RAPHAEL, 1974: È la sola azione quella che ti concerne, mai i suoi frutti; non dipendere dal frutto del karma e neanche devi attaccarti alla non-azione.

## List of Italian translations:

1. (BHAKTIVEDANTA), see above, Eng. 54.
2. BRANDI, Mario, *Bhakti-yogah, lo Yoga dello fede*, (BG ch. 12), Skt. text, analysis with literal tr., Sperling and Kupfer, Milan, 1929.
3. CANDIAN, Bianca, *BG*, with additional "Nota sulla BG" by Mario Piantelli, Bibl. Adelphi 65, Milan, 1976; (tr. of A.-M. Esnoul; see French 9).
4. CANINI, Marco Antonio, *Canto terzo dell' Illiade e frammenti del MBh e del Bālabharata*, Dramard-Bandry, Parigi, 1868.
5. COGNI, Giulio, *BG, Il Canto del Beato*, Roma (1973); 2nd ed., 1980, (verse tr. according to the original metre; Foreword by O. Botto; essay by A. B. Pant).
6. FEDI, Remo, *Il BG*, F. Bocca, Milan, 1940; Rome, 1971, (tr. from Yogi Ramacharaka).
7. GATTI, Stanislao, *Il BG, Poema metafisico Indiano in versi sciolti*, Naples, (1859) 1959; (sel. Skt. verses with introd. and commentary).
8. GNOLI, Raniero, *BG, Il Canto del Beato* (with Abhinavagupta's com.). *Classici delle Religioni*, Unione Tipografica — Editrice Torinese, Torino, 1976.
9. HEILMANN, Luigi, *Il BG-bhāṣya di Śāṅkara*, Reale Acc. delle Scienze dell' Ist. di Bologna, Bologna, 1949.
- JINARĀJADĀSA, C., see KIRBY, M.
10. KERBAKER, Michele, *Il MBh. Tradotto in ottava rima nei suoi principali episodi*; 5 vols., Italian Academy, Rome, 1933-39, (published posthumously by Carlo Formichi and Vittorio Pisani). (BG in 3rd vol.); the BG text appeared also in *Rivista Orientali Series* (1936).



11. KIRBY, M. Le and JINARĀJADĀSA, C., *La BG o poema divino*, critic. ed. of Skt. text with com. of Śankara and glosses of Ānandagiri, with literal Italian tr., Soc. Teosofica, Roma, 1905; also Ricci, Genova, 1924.  
See LOSACCO, M., "La BG nella versione poetica di Michele Kerbaker", *Ann. della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 2 ser., vol. 8, pp. 177-85.
12. NATA, *Lo Yoga della BG*, Rome, n.d., (tr. of Aurobindo).
13. NAZARI, Oreste, *Il Canto Divino*, tr. with com., Bibl. dei popole no. 6, Milano and Palermo, 1904.
- PATTI, *BG*, (tr. in manuscript); Pont. Bibl. Inst., Rome.
14. PAVOLINI, Paolo Emilio, *MBh*, Episodi scelti e tradotti collegati col racconto dell'intero poema, Palermo, 1902; Milano, 1923 (2nd rev.), (sel. with summary of the whole epic).
15. PISANI, Vittore, *MBh*, Episodi scelti, Torino, 1954; see also KERBAKER, M.
16. PIZZAGALLI, A. M., *La BG ossia Il Canto del Beato*, with introd. and com., G. Carabea, Lanciano, (1917), 1922.
17. "RAPHAEL", *BG*, *Il Canto del Beato*, with introd. and com., Ed. Āśram Vidyā, Rome, 1974, 306 pp.
18. VASSALINI, Ida, *BG*, *Il Canto del Beato*, (tr. in *esametri*), G. Laterza, Bari, 1943.
19. VECCHIOTTI, I., *BG*, Rome, 1964, (with prose tr. of Radhakrishnan's English commentary).

We may also refer to BOTTO, Oscar: *Storia delle Letterature d'Oriente*, (summary of *MBh*, vol. 8, pp. 48ff.), Milan, 1969.

#### 6.15. Translations into Rumanian

Rumanian is the last Romanic language of our group under study, spoken by about 20 million speakers, mainly in Rumania. Again, *Śakuntalā* was the first Sanskrit work to be translated, from German, in 1897.

List of Rumanian translations:

1. AL-GEORGE, S., *Filosofia indiana in texte*, *BG*, *Sāmkhya-karika*, *Tarka-samgraha*, (Editura Stiintifica), Bucarest, 1971; (the complete tr. of the *BG*, based on Sanskrit, is given on pp. 27-126).
2. ELIADE, M., 'BG in romānește', in *Cuvântul*, VIII, 1932, Sept. 19, No. 2662, pp. 1-2; (tr. of a fragment based on Sanskrit).
3. MIHALCESCU, I., *Cântecul Preafericitului*, *BG Krishna*, (Libraria noua), Bucarest, (ca. 1935-40); complete tr. based on Burnouf, French 6; Garbe, Deussen, Schröder; German 7, 6, 27.
4. NANU, D., *BG*, *poema indiana*, (Libraria Pavel Suru), Bucarest, 1932; (tr. of Burnouf, with notes).
5. SIMENSCHY, T., *BG*, Bucarest, 1944; (tr. acc. to the Sanskrit metre).

Note: The *BG* is not included in the translation of the *MBh* (from Russian), by A. E. Baconsky, Bucarest, 1964.

*Romany* is an altogether different tongue. According to W. R. Rishi (Indian Institute of Romani Studies, Chandigarh) it is spoken by the gipsies of the Soviet Union, Europe and Americas, who are the descendants of Rajputs and Jats of N. India. It is akin to the Punjabi language with a Sanskrit base. "Lord Krishna and Arjuna are honoured by the gipsies with the same devotion as in India."<sup>1</sup>

#### 6.16. Translations into Russian

With more than 200 million speakers, Russian is the third world language. Interest in the languages and literatures of India started in the 18th century, with translations of *Śakuntalā* and the *BG* (1788). Famous Russian Indologists during the 19th century<sup>2</sup> contributed much to the study of Sanskrit, an example being the St Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-75, reprint 1959).

G. Lebedev could be considered the founder of Russian indological studies, with the publication (in Bengal) of *Grammar of Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects with Dialogues* (1801) and *An Impartial Survey of the Systems of the Brahmans of East India, devoted to their Rites and Folk customs* (1805). Lebedev also cast the first Devanāgarī characters in Russia, by command of Tsar Alexander I.

#### List of Russian translations:

1. KAMENSKAYA, A. and MANTSIARLI, I., *BG*, Kalunga, 1914; (this tr. of Besant was first published in 1909-11 in *Vestnik teosofiyi* (i.e. Theosophical Herald), Petersburg).
2. KAZNACHEYEYA, A. P., *BG*, Vladimir, 1909; (tr. in verse not faithful to the original).
- MANTSIARLY, I., see KAMENSKAYA, A.
- NOVIKOV, N., see PETROV, A. A.
3. PETROV, A. A., *Baguat-Gita*, Moscow, 1788; (based on Wilkins; this tr. is known under the name of the editor N. Novikov).
4. SMIRNOV, B. L., *MBh*, *BG*, Ashkhabad, (1956), (1960), ca. 1973 (3rd ed.); (literal and literary tr., with notes and Introduction, standard tr. in Russian).

A reference was also found to A. KAMECKOI, *BG*, Paris, 1925, [or A. KAMENSKY, N.K.B.T., Petrograd, according to the Gītā-list of *Kalyana-Kalpataru*, 2 (1935), 248]. A new "Dynamic Equivalence" translation was announced for 1982.

1. CHAMAN LAL, ed., *India. Cradle of Cultures*, Delhi, n.d., p. 205.
2. For more details see *Fifty Years of Soviet Oriental Studies* ('Indian Philology', 'Indology'), Moscow, 1967; also *Sanskrit Studies outside India*, News Bulletin No. 2 of the I.A.S.S., Part II, Weimar, 1979, pp. 144-62.



### 6.17. *Translations into Polish*

Polish is spoken by ca. 35 million people in Poland and ca. 3 million in the USA.

The first Polish Sanskritist was W. S. Majewski, who wrote about the similarities between Sanskrit and Polish at the beginning of the 19th century.

In 1872, Malinowski published his Sanskrit Grammar (in Polish), based on F. Bopp. A translation of *Śakuntalā*, based on Forster, appeared in 1861. The first translation of the BG appeared in 1910.

List of Polish translations:

1. an., BG, (Przekład polski, Epos indyjskie II), Brody, 1911.
2. DYNOWSKA, W., BG, (Swatantrapur, 1947; Madras, 1956, 1957); Bombay, 1972.
3. MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI, S. F., BG, (Krakow, 1910; Paris, 1922), (in transliteration); Warsaw, 1921, 1927.

### 6.18. *Translations into Czech*

The present situation in Czechoslovakia, where Indian studies have been wiped out of the State Plan of Research since 1974, is in sharp contrast with the past. "Indology in Czechoslovakia can boast of a fairly long and fruitful tradition, starting with the early philological treatises and first translations from Sanskrit by Czech and Slovak scholars of the age of the National Revival and with the pioneering researches of Prague University professors A. Schleicher (1821-68), A. Ludwig (1837-1912) and J. Zuboty (1885-1931)."<sup>3</sup>

We should especially mention also M. Winternitz (1863-1937) and "one of the most prolific and successful popularizers of ancient India, V. Miltner (b. 1933), who, in 1969, won universal acclaim by his brilliant translation of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtram* (1969)"<sup>4</sup>. The report does not add that Miltner has since then worked as a driver and as a cook, and is now a news agency journalist.

Two translations of the BG in Czech (ca. 10 million speakers) are available:

1. FILIPSKY, J. and VACEK, J., *Bhagavadgita*, Odeon, Prague, 1976.
2. JANICEK, Rudolf, BG, *Neboli Zpev-Vzneseného*, (Železny Brod. Jaroslav Jiranek), 1945.

3. *Sanskrit Studies outside India*, News Bulletin No. 2 of the I.A.S.S., Part I, Weimar, 1979, p. 15.

4. *Ibidem*, p. 18.

The Gītā-list of *Kalyana-Kalpataru*, 2 (1925), 249, refers to a "Bohemian" translation of 1900.

#### 6.19. *Translations into Slovak*

Slovak is spoken by ca. 10 million people, in South-east Czechoslovakia. One translation is available:

WEINFURTER, K., *BG*, Prague, 1935; (Writing on the Divine or the Science of the Divine Being and Immortality; with commentary and quotations of parallel passages in mystical literature).

#### 6.20. *Translations into Slovenian (Slovene)*

Spoken by ca. 2 million people in Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria and Hungary, Slovenian includes the Lower Carniola and Upper Carniola dialects.

"The literary language is a compromise between the Lower and the Upper Carniola dialects . . . The dialects of Slovene are extremely diverse; they developed during a thousand-year period characterised by lack of political and cultural unity . . . Most Slovenes are bilingual in Serbocroatian (see below), which they learn in school, but there are transitional dialects between Slovene and Serbocroatian which are closer than the literary languages."<sup>5</sup>

Several translations of the BG are found:

PACHEINER, Vlasta, *BG*, *Gospodarova Pesem*, (Mladinska Knjiga), Ljubljana, 1970; (verse tr., based on Sanskrit).  
Also VEJACIC, C., *BG*, (M. Hrvatska), Zagreb Univ.

#### 6.21. *Translations into Serbocroatian (and Bulgarian)*

With ca. 17 million speakers, mainly in Yugoslavia, but also in Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, Serbocroatian is an important language in the Balkan area.

"Differences in orthographies partly reflect political differences and partly dialect differences, with Cyrillic for an eastern variant and Latin for a western variant. The Catholic Dalmatians to some extent use their Glagolitic script (in the Slavonic liturgy)."<sup>6</sup>

List of Serbocroatian translations:

1. JEVTIĆ, P., *BG*, *Pesma o bozanstvu*, Beograd (1929), 1978; (prose tr., based on Sanskrit).

5. C. F. and F. M. VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

6. *Ibidem*.



2. MARKOVIĆ, M., 'BG', in R. IVEKOVIĆ, ed., *Počeci i izvori ortodoksne misli* (Beginning and Origin of the Orthodox Thinking), BIGZ, Beograd, 1980; (prose tr., based on Sanskrit).

Portions of the MBh are translated from Russian, by L. Šijaković and published in 1965.

Note: For the 8 million<sup>7</sup> speakers of Bulgarian only a recent translation of the BG seems to be available (see the Bulgarian quotation of 18: 66 in Swami CHINMAYANANDA, *The Holy Geeta*, "The one Song in many Tongues").

#### 6.22. Translations into Lithuanian

This Baltic language is spoken by about 3 million people in Soviet-occupied Lithuania, near the Baltic Sea. One translation was traced:

"VYDUNAS", BG, *palaiminantioji giesmė*, (Lietuvių skautų brolijos vadija), Detmold, 1947; (tr. from Sanskrit).

#### 6.23. Translations into Georgian

The 3 million speakers of this Caucasian language are spread over the Soviet Union, Turkey and Iran. Georgian is the oldest written Caucasian language, dating from about the fifth century when Bible translators introduced the Chutsuri alphabet influenced by an earlier Armenian script.

It is not clear whether Georgian should be affiliated to Semitic, Indo-European or Sumerian. "The most promising relationship appears to be that with Basque"<sup>8</sup> (in the Ibero-Caucasian group).

One translation of the BG is available:

CHENKELI, T., BG, Tbilisi, 1963.

#### 6.24. Translations into Finnish

Finnish and Hungarian, two European languages outside the non-Indo-European family, are classified as the Uralic group<sup>8</sup>. Most of the 4 million speakers of Finnish are in Finland; some are in the Soviet Union. Indologists of the Nordic countries met at Helsinki in 1980.

7. VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

8. For more details, see T. VUORELA, *The Finno-Ugric Peoples*, (tr. by J. Atkinson), Indiana University, 1964.

One translation of the BG is available:

TEIVONEN, Marja-Leena, *BG, Herran Laulu*, (Gaudeamus), Helsinki, 1975.

#### 6.25. *Translations into Hungarian*

Into this second Uralic language, spoken by ca. 14 million people (mainly Hungarians), early versions of Sanskrit works have been translated: the *Pancatantra* from Turkish (D. Rosnyai) in the 17th century and from Latin in the 18th century, and the *Hitopadeśa* and *Śakuntalā* in the 19th century<sup>9</sup>. Of Hungarian origin, the famous Aurel Stein (1862-1943) acquired British citizenship and led many archaeological expeditions in N.-W. India.

The earliest translation of the BG, by Kegl, was published in 1887.

List of Hungarian translations:

1. JÁNOSKY, István and KERÉNYI, Grácia, e.a., *MBh-Rāmāyana*, (Magyar Helikon Kiadó), Budapest, 1964.
2. KEGL, S., *BG*, (Magyar Tudományos Akademia), (1887), 1910.
3. MAROTHY, M. G., *BG, Az isteni Ének*, (Angolbol, Forditotta), Budapest (1924), 1944 (2nd); (The Divine Song; tr. from A. Besant's English version).
4. SZABÓ, L., *BG*, ca. 1950; (verse tr.).

#### 6.26. *Translations in Esperanto*

Two translations are found in this artificial international language, constructed as a mixture of Romanic and Germanic language elements:

1. COLLEYN, O., *BG*, Praha, 1921.
2. VALDIMIRO, Lorentz Francisco, *BG, tio estas Sublima Kanto pri la Senmorteco*, (Livraria da Federação E. Brasileira), Rio de Janeiro, 1942.

#### 6.27. *Translations into Chinese*

Although Chinese could, in a general way, be classified in the Sino-Tibetan group, we treat it as a separate language, with its ca. 800 million speakers. According to Voegelin, "Chinese can be regarded as an assemblage of several separate languages intertwined in an endless network of dialects . . . The same Chinese character writing is used for all varieties."<sup>1</sup>

9. For more details, see *Sanskrit Studies outside India*, News Bulletin No. 2 of the I.A.S.S., I, Weimar, 1979, pp. 78-85.

1. See VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 307ff. and article on p. 114.



The earliest travellers from China to India — after the merchants — were Buddhists, visiting the homeland of Buddhism and taking with them (via Nepal and Tibet) horseloads of manuscripts. Today one can see still this traffic through Nepal and Sinkiang; the first 200 km now take one full day by bus; from Pokhara onwards it takes about ten days walking to Tibet. Another route went through Assam. The first Chinese travels to Bactriana were described by Chang Ch'ien, in about 114 B.C. Fa-hien left China in 399 A.D. and returned in 414, while the famous Hsuan-chuang lived in the 'western country' (India) from 629 to 645<sup>2</sup>.

Early Chinese translations of Indian texts were all related to the Buddhist doctrine and the life of the Buddha. These texts remain very important as some Sanskrit works are now available only in their Chinese translation. It is not surprising that among the 1,467 Indian works translated into Chinese, no BG is mentioned.

Singhal describes the difficulties encountered by Chinese translators:

"Sanskrit and Pali are completely different from Chinese in form and style. Sanskrit has a highly elaborate grammatical system, whilst Chinese has no systematized grammar. Sanskrit is highly inflected, alphabetic, and polysyllabic, whilst Chinese is uninflected, ideographic and mainly monosyllabic. And whilst Indian literature is reflective, imaginative and discursive, Chinese literature is terse, concrete and practical."<sup>3</sup>

The White Horse Monastery at Loyang became the great school of translators: Dharmaraksha (Chi-Fa-Hu) is said to have known 36 languages and to have translated 211 Sanskrit works into Chinese before his death in 317 A.D. The Indian Kumārajīva (343-413), aided by the Chinese Tao-an, founded an immense bureau of translators at the Great Monastery of Chang-an, with over 800 scholars on the staff.

"Recalling the story of these monks and the enormous difficulties involved in translation, admiration for their patience, perseverance and faith is increased. To learn Chinese with modern aids and techniques is a formidable enough task, but in those days to learn it and also communicate doctrinal beliefs to a people whose own tradition of reflective thought was relatively less developed and accommodating, was a monumental achievement."<sup>4</sup>

The translation process also involved inter-religious dialogue. The Buddhist monks borrowed from the Taoist vocabulary, e.g. 'Tao' (absolute, cosmic force) was adopted for *bodhi* (illumination). Confucianist

2. For more details see P. C. BAGCHI, *India and China: A Thousand Years of Sino-Indian Cultural Relations*, Bombay, 1944; P. K. MUKHERJI, *Indian Literature in China and the Far East*, Calcutta, 1931.

3. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 310.

4. *Ibidem*, p. 318.

expressions too were used, e.g. *hsiao-hsun* (final submission, obedience) was used for *śīla* (morality, pious conduct).

“Translations of phrases or passages which might offend traditional Chinese susceptibilities, conditioned by concepts of Confucianist morality, were deleted or edited. For instance, Indian words indicating love and respect for a Bodhisattva (kiss and embrace) were dropped; and phrases such as ‘the husband controls his wife’ and ‘the wife comforts her husband’ became ‘the wife reveres her husband’.”<sup>5</sup>

Also new words were coined. Buddhist scholars enriched the Chinese vocabulary by more than 35,000 words. The Chinese language had to be modified to accommodate Sanskrit sounds through transliterative devices and additional script symbols, called Brahmanical writing.

Although it is not impossible that portions of the MBh and perhaps of the BG were translated into Chinese during the first millennium, no traces of such translations have been found so far. Mukherji (1931, *op. cit.*) refers to a modern translation of the Mahābhārata. A recent rendering of the Gītā itself is by Zhang BAOSHENG (1979)<sup>6</sup>.

Note: Among the Sino-Tibetan languages closest to India, there is *Burmese*, spoken by more than 20 million people. Because of Buddhist predominance the BG was apparently not transmitted. Still, in the 11th cent. teachings from the Hindu Śāstras were integrated into Burmese laws, since kings employed Brahmans as their advisers<sup>7</sup>.

#### 6.28. Translations into Japanese

Japanese is designated as Altaic, as are Korean, and the Mongolian, Turkic and Manchu-Tungusian languages<sup>8</sup>.

Relations between India and Japan were established about 1,500 years ago. The Indian monk Hodo or Dharmapatha may have come to Japan about 650 A.D. But the most prominent visitor was Bodhisena, who arrived on 18 May 736. He preached Buddhism and taught Sanskrit. He was present for the dedication of the colossal Vairocana (Roshana) statue of the Buddha at Nara under emperor Shomu. Kukai, founder of the Shingon sect in the 9th century, adopted Sanskrit letters as *shittan*

5. *Ibidem*, p. 331.

6. See H. XINCHUAN, ‘China’, in *Sanskrit Studies outside India*, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, 1981, p. 14.

7. See U. THAKUR, ‘A Historical Survey of Elements of Hindu Culture in Burma’, in *Vivekananda Com. Vol.*, 1970, pp. 437-44.

8. See VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, 190-91.



(=siddham). In some Japanese temples ancient manuscripts in Sanskrit are preserved intact.

With the restoration of Meiji (1868), which officially put an end to the policy of seclusion, enforced for three centuries, Japanese Buddhists left their isolation and started a scholarly Indology, mainly in pursuit of a philosophical self-regeneration. Students were sent to Europe to study Sanskrit, 'entering into partnership with M. Müller, H. Kern or E. Leumann'<sup>9</sup>. As a result serious work was done on the source-texts (in Sanskrit and Pali) of Buddhism, often in collation and comparison with Chinese and Tibetan versions.

During the 20th century, translations were made of non-Buddhist works too, such as the Vedas, Upanishads<sup>10</sup> and the BG, the latter even becoming a best-seller<sup>11</sup>. According to Y. Ojihara<sup>12</sup> a fair amount of studies on the BG have been published in Japanese. He supplied references to four translations of the BG:

1. HATTORI, M., *Sekai-Bungaku-Taïkeï*, in *Indo-shu*, vol. 4, Tokyo, 1959.
2. TAKAKUSH, J., in *Indo-Koseïka*, Tokyo, 1921.
3. TSUJI, N., *BG*, Tokyo (1950), 1980, 416 pp.; 13-288: translation; 288-305: notes; 351-411: com.
4. UNO, A., in *Baramonkyotan*, Genshibutton, Tokyo, (1969), 1978.

#### 6.29. Translations into Mongolian (and Uzbek)

A group of nine 'languages' are mentioned by Voegelin<sup>1</sup> as being classified under the heading Mongolian; of these, Khalkha Mongol is current as a kind of lingua franca in Central Asia, from Afghanistan to Manchuria. One translation of the BG is found, incorporated in the complete version of the *Mahābhārata*, based on Russian<sup>2</sup>. This work is in the line of a long tradition, which was started in the 13th-14th centuries when a wave of translations from Sanskrit and Tibetan swept over the country. The linguistic impact of these works is felt even in classical Mongol, in which numerous Sanskrit terms (in Sogdian and Uighur spellings) have been accepted as loanwords. Translations of

9. See Y. OJIHARA, 'Sanskrit Studies in Japan', in *Sanskrit Studies outside India*, News Bulletin, No. 2 of the I.A.S.S., Weimar, 1979, p. 86.

10. See S. C. BANERJEE, *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1971, p. 582.

11. See A. M. BABA, 'Gems from Treasury of Wisdom', in M. PARADKAR, *Studies in the Gita*, p. 90.

12. In a letter to us, dated June 1980. One more reference could be: ZENSHU, *Sekai Seiten, BG*, in World Lit. Works Publ. Soc., Tokyo, n.d.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 234-35.

2. SANDAG, T., *Mahābhārata*, Ulanbator, 1970.

Buddhist text constituted the main bulk of the classical literature, with Mongol renderings of the Buddhist canon Kanjur and Tanjur, which not only included religious literature, but also works on philosophy, grammar, poetics, astrology, etc.<sup>3</sup>. "Sanskrit was one of the two classical languages of Old Mongolia, the other being Tibetan."<sup>4</sup> A Mongolian version of the Pancatantra, based on Arabic, was made in about 1280 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

The translation work of the Mongols increased after 1700, when a precise system of transliteration of Sanskrit words was elaborated. Recently, since the establishment of the People's Republic of Mongolia, there has been an increasing interest in Indian Studies on the part of scholars, aware as they are of the very close links between the Mongol and Indian cultures and literatures.

Note: Uzbek, belonging to the Western Turkic group, is spoken by about 10 million people in the Soviet Union and 1 million in Afghanistan. An abridged version of the MBh, based on Russian, is available: an., *Maqhabqharata*, ĕki Bqharata avlodlari zangnomasi Sotibol di Juldosev, (Es gvardija), Tashkent, 1966.

Lying at the cross-roads of Central Asia, Afghanistan received an early imprint of Hindu-Buddhist culture, especially in Bactriana. Banerjee refers to Jaipāla (975 A.D.) as the last great Hindu king in Afghanistan, bequeathing statues of Vāsudeva-Vishnu to temples. The Nārāyana-cult had spread also to Turkistan, as is established by the description of a picture found there: "The artist has tried to depict (in it) the *viśvarūpa* aspect of Buddha on the model of the *viśvarūpa* of Krishna narrated in the Gita."<sup>6</sup> There is no trace, however, of the Gītā in the Catalogue of Central Asian manuscripts<sup>7</sup>.

### 6.30. Translations into Arabic

Literary Arabic of today is the Mecca-dialect in which the Holy Koran was written; this became the standard language of the Arabic world, although colloquial Arabic differs (considerably) from one country to the other. The Arabic script developed from the Aramaic alphabet.

3. For more details, see D. YONDON, 'Sanskrit Studies in Mongolia', in *Sanskrit Studies outside India*, pp. 104-16.

4. Y. RINCHEN, 'Sanskrit in Mongolia', in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, vol. 3. (1974), p. 91.

5. Reworked in a new version, published in Ulanbator, 1970 (see D. YONDON, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 6).

6. P. BANERJEE, 'Hindu Deities in Central Asia', in *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume*, 1970, pp. 281-88.

7. See *Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1965.



Singhal remarks that in medieval times "the Arabs were enthusiastic, accurate and prolific translators, and they would often undertake long journeys in search of manuscripts"<sup>1</sup>. An early version of the *Pancatantra* in Arabic (*Kālīla wa Dimna*) was made in about 750 A.D. from a Pahlavi rendering, and from a Turkish rendering the *Buddha Carita* was translated (*Kitāb Balauhar wa Budasaf*). An early version of the MBh must also have existed, because a Persian version of 1026 was based on the Arabic translation, which in its turn must have been based on an old-Prakrit Sindhi text: "Sindhi Brahmans learned Arabic and helped Arab translators at the court of the Abbassids at Baghdad"<sup>2</sup>.

A fair number of quotations from the BG are found in the *Description of India (Tārīkh al Hind)*<sup>3</sup>, completed by Al-Bīrūnī in 1030. Born in an Iranian family in 973 as a contemporary of Avicenna or Ibn Sīnā, he wrote his scientific works in Arabic. Being one of the greatest scholars of medieval Islam, he was specialized in mathematics, astronomy, physics, geography, history and linguistics. He worked at the court of Ghazna and accompanied Mohammed of Ghazna during his campaigns in North-West India. In his description of Hinduism, he roughly follows the

1. D. P. SINGHAL; *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 143. Hundreds of important works were collected and translated at the Bait-ul-Hikmah (House of Wisdom), started by Mansur in the 8th cent.
2. M. Q. KHAN, 'Translation as a medium of Indo-Arab Relations', in *Anuvad*, 2 (1965), Nov., p. 34.

Abu Salih Shuib and Abu Hasan Ali Jili are referred to as translators into Arabic of the MBh of Vyāsa, at the Abbasid Court, and another translator is mentioned under Sultan Zainul 'Abidin. See M. Q. KHAN, 'Meet your Translator: Abul Fadl', in *Anuvad*, 2 (1965), No. 4, p. 34.

Singhal (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 206) remarks:

"In 1026 a work on Indian history, originally translated from the 'Indian Language' into Arabic by Abu Salih Bin Su'ayb Bin Jami' was rendered into Persian. This version, by Abu-l-hasan 'Ali, was quoted or summarized as the Mujmil Al-Tawarikh. It was actually a version of the MBh story translated from a late Prakrit version."

See also R. G. HARSHE, 'Arabic version of the MBh legend', in *Bulletin Deccan College Research Institute*, 2 (1940-41), 314-24; S. K. CHATTERJI, 'An Early Arabic version of the MBh story', in *Ind. Ling.*, 11 (1949), 156-63; 'An Early Arabic Version of the MBh story from Sindh: old Sindhi literature and culture', in *Indo-Asian Culture*, VII (1958), 50-71; C. H. SHAIKH, 'Translations of the MBh into Arabic and Persian', in *V. S. Sukthankar Mem. Vol.*, Poona, 1944, 267-80.

In his voluminous study about Arabic translations of Indian works, M. Steinschneider limits himself to the question of the mathematical figures and astrological writings, in *ZDMG*, 24 (1870), 325-29; 25 (1871), 378-428.

3. E. C. SACHAU, ed., *Alberuni's India*, (An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A.D. 1030), 2 vols., London, 1888.

order of " the book Gītā, a part of the book Bhārata, from the conversation between Vāsudeva and Arjuna "4 (besides the references from Pātanjali and Sāmkhya).

On pages 29-123 of Sachau's translation we find a total of about 4 pages with quotations (without reference) from the BG. Not all quotations can be identified<sup>5</sup> and different hypotheses have been given to explain this. First, Al-Bīrūnī worked with Brahmins who quoted passages which he transliterated into Arabic and then translated with their help. Also, reading Al-Bīrūnī's text, one often has the impression that he paraphrases rather than producing a literal translation, his main purpose apparently being didactic<sup>6</sup>. Sachau explains the fact of the non-literal quotations by presuming that Al-Bīrūnī was working on a different text, while other scholars suggest that he used a commentary and mixed it with the version. Jefferey remarks that " we cannot always be sure that the recension of a Sanskrit work which we now use in printed texts, e.g. the text of the Gītā, is the same recension which was available to him in his day. Secondly, we are never sure how much the text of Al-Bīrūnī's work has suffered in the process of transmission."<sup>7</sup>

As an illustration we compare a few quotations rendered into English by Sachau with the modern translation of Radhakrishnan. With all its defects<sup>8</sup>, Al-Bīrūnī's text is no doubt a good trans-cultural paraphrase.

#### Al-Bīrūnī

If you believe in predestination, you must know that neither they nor we are mortal, and do not go away without a return, for the souls are immortal and unchangeable.

#### Radhakrishnan

Never was there a time when I was not, nor thou, nor these lords of men, nor will there ever be a time hereafter when we all shall cease to be. (2.12)

4. E. C. SACHAU, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Hence, this BG is " perhaps the oldest extant and impartial text " (M. V. KILBE, ' Is BG post-Buddhist ? ', in *Proc. 6th All-India Oriental Conf.*, Patna, 1930, p. 281).

5. The following verses have been identified by us:

p. 29: v. 4.6, 14; 9.29; 4.14; p. 40: v. 7.5-9; 15.15; p. 52-53: v. 2.12, 13, 21-26; 4.4, 7; p. 73: v. 6.19; p. 80: v. 17.14ff.; p. 86: v. 15.1-4; p. 90: v. 17.4; p. 103: v. 18.42-46, 57; 2.33; p. 104: v. 2.34-36.

See also A. M. SHASTRI, " Sanskritic sources of Alberuni " in *Jo. Indian History*, 52 (1974), 335.

6. See M. M. MORENO, ' L'Arte dell 'Esporre in Al-Bīrūnī ', in *Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Volume*, Iran Society, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 209-15. He argues that Al-Bīrūnī did not yield to easy syncretism, but remained faithful to the spirit of the Gītā. The result is a clear didactic and neat artistic version.

7. A. JEFFEREY, ' Al-Bīrūnī's Contribution to Comparative Religion ', *ibidem*, 125-60.

8. B. B. LAWRENCE, ' Al-Bīrūnī's Approach to the Comparative Study of Indian Culture ', in *Biruni Symposium*, Iran Centre, Columbia Un., 1976, (27-47), p. 43.



## Al-Birūnī

They migrate through the bodies, while man changes from childhood into youth, into manhood and infirm age, the end of which is the death of the body. Thereafter the soul proceeds on its return.

How can a man think of death and being killed who knows that the soul is eternal, not having been born and not perishing ?

That the soul is something stable and constant; that no sword can cut it, no fire burn it, no water extinguish it and no wind wither it.

The soul migrates from its body after it has become old, into another, a different one, as the body, when its dress becomes old, is clad in another. What then is your sorrow about a soul which does not perish ?

If it were perishable, it would be more becoming that you should not sorrow about a thing which may be dispensed with, which does not exist, and does not return into existence.

## Radhakrishnan

As the soul passes in this body through childhood, youth and age, even so is its taking on of another body. The sage is not perplexed by this. (2.13)

He who knows that it is indestructible and eternal, uncreate and unchanging, how can such a person slay any one, or cause any one to slay ? (2.21)

Weapons do not cleave this self, fire does not burn him; waters do not make him wet; nor does the wind make him dry. (2.23)

Just as a person casts off worn-out garments and puts on others that are new, even so does the embodied soul cast off worn-out bodies and take on others that are new. (2.22)

Even if thou thinkest that the self is perpetually born and perpetually dies, even then, thou should not grieve. (2.26)

With regard to the process of translation, Chatterji remarks: "There were perhaps several Brahmin assistants or collaborators on whom at different times Al-Bīrūnī had to rely for his scientific work. These men served him by giving running translations of texts in which he was interested, in some language which both sides understood — either the West Punjab vernacular which Al-Bīrūnī must have picked up as one of the languages of Ghazna, or Persian."<sup>9</sup> Lawrence adds: "Internal evidence ... indicates that Al-Bīrūnī never mastered the Devanāgarī script, but instead relied upon transliterating texts which he subsequently translated into Arabic."<sup>10</sup>

9. S. K. CHATTERJI, 'Al Bīrūnī and Sanskrit', in *Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Vol.*, *op. cit.*, (83-100), p. 86. Also 'Sanskrit in Perso-Arabic Script, in *Indian Linguistics*, 7 (1939), 131-66. He suggests that Al-Bīrūnī's friendly and cosmopolitan spirit is responsible for the Sanskrit legend found on the coins of Mahmūd of Ghazna; the *kalima* is translated *avyaktam ekam, Muhammada avatāra*.

10. B. B. LAWRENCE, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

To conclude, we may state that with his remarkable openness to another culture and religion, Al-Bīrūnī succeeded in bringing about a cross-cultural encounter between Hinduism and Islam rarely found afterwards<sup>11</sup>.

We found two references to a recent Arabic translation of the Gītā:

1. (BHAKTIVEDANTA), see above, Eng. 54.
2. BOUSTANY, W. F., *MBh*, Dar al-Ahad, (Bouheiry Frères), Beyrouth, 1960.

### 6.31. Translations into Hebrew

Classified in the North-west Semitic group (along with Aramaic and Phoenician), Hebrew is spoken by ca. 12.5 million people, in "Israel, United States, Europe and elsewhere"<sup>1</sup>.

Ancient Hebrew was brought to India also, when a Jewish community settled in Kerala, probably in the first century B.C. An indirect translation of the *Pancatantra* was made ca. the 12th century A.D. Two Hebrew renderings of the BG have been published in Jerusalem:

1. OLSVANGER, I., *BG*, *Shirat ha-mevorakh*, Jerusalem, 1956, (translation with notes; foreword by M. Buber and N. I. Nikam).
2. QALO, Shalmoh, *BG*, *Shīr ha-elohīm*, (God's Song; tr. and com.), (Da'ath), Japho, 1976.

We quote two verses in transliteration:

- 1.1: bi-sedēh-qōdes, bi-sedēh-qūrū, niqehālīm sāsīm laq-qerāb, mah bānay ū-mah benē-pāndū 'olelū, hōy sangayā ? (OLSVANGER, 1956)
- 2.47: resutkā hī' raq ham-ma'as u-le-'ōlām lō pērōtāw, 'al yenī'akā perī-ma'as tid baq. (OLSVANGER, 1956)

In this context, a brief reference may be made to two languages affiliated to Hebrew.

a. Classical Aramaic was used consecutively in the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires and also left its mark on the fringes of Ancient India. Aramaic-speaking Jews, exiled from their homeland, established trade-centres up to the Far East. On an Ashokan inscription (Taxila) we find the word *dharma* rendered by HLKWT (from the root meaning

11. F. MUJTABAI, *Aspects of Hindu Muslim Cultural Relation*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 63.

1. VOGELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 303.



'to walk, to go') and the title 'Our lord Priyadarsī [the King]' by MR'N PRYDRSH [MLK]<sup>2</sup>.

Western Aramaic included the Palestinian tongue spoken by Jesus Christ (ca. 2,000 years ago) and in the present time in a few villages near Damascus. Well known in Aramaic literature are the Targums<sup>3</sup> or synagogical paraphrases on Hebrew Scriptures. Notwithstanding the often-quoted adage "he who translates a Biblical verse literally is a liar, but he who elaborates on it is a blasphemer"<sup>4</sup>, we find in the Targums interpolations with midrashic commentaries and haggadic stories. No translation of the BG into Aramaic was found.

b. Syriac is closely related to Aramaic, and was written in the Chaldean or Nestorian alphabet. In ancient Syriac, we have one of the oldest renderings of the Four Gospels of the Bible (Tatian, 2nd century A.D.). The whole Bible was translated before 431 A.D. as the renowned 'Peshitta' or Syriac Vulgate. This Syriac was also used by the 'early Christians' in Kerala, who claim spiritual ascendancy from Saint Thomas. A prayer-book was printed in Syriac, with explanations in Malayalam, in 1602, at Vaipicota. An Old-Syriac version of the Pancatantra existed in the 7th century A.D., probably made from a Pahlavi version.

### 6.32. *Translations into Persian*

Modern Persian is spoken by about 20 million people in Iran, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, Iraq and the islands of the Persian Gulf. The earliest linguistic relations with India are found in the ancient Avesta which is composed in an old Persian closely related to Vedic Sanskrit. Later, after Zarathustra, the Middle Persian or Pahlavi form developed, into which as early as the 6th c. A.D. a version of the Pancatantra was made. This was the basis for first an Arabic version and later other versions in several Western languages. The translation into modern Persian was made on the basis of an Arabic version, under an Arab ruler of Sindh, in 940, or under a Ghazna Sultan, in 1153<sup>1</sup>.

2. See K. LUKE, 'Asoka's Inscriptions in Aramaic from Afghanistan', in *Bible Bhashyam*, 5 (1979), 239-52. In the Buddhist languages of Central Asia (i.e. Soghdian, Uyghur, Classical Mongolian and Manchu), the Indian term *dharma* was rendered by a loanword *nom* (from Greek *nomos*), even the Uralic languages assimilated this notion. See K. DONNER, 'Ueber Soghdisch. *nom* "Gesetz" und Samojedisch *nom* "Himmel, Gott"' in *Studia Orientalia*, 1 (1925), 1-8.

3. Related to the Urdu (and Arabic) *tarjumā* (i.e. translation).

4. Rabbi Judah, 2nd century A.D. See M. KLEIN, 'Converse Translation: a targumic technique', in *Biblica*, 57 (1976), 515-37.

1. See S. A. H. ABIDI, 'Translations in and from Persian', in *Anuvad*, 3 (1965), No. 6, 74-79. See also above, p. 162 (Sindhi). This abridged Persian version was published by Reinaud, Paris, 1845.

We find no trace, however, of a translation of the BG, till the times of the Mughal emperors at Delhi. The "illiterate" Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605) stimulated the work of translators into Persian; besides the *Atharva-veda* and the *Rāmāyana*, the MBh was also translated. At his order, on the 26th Jan. 1582, the translation of the MBh, *Razm Nāmeḥ*, was started by Naqib Khān (of Persian origin), Badaoni<sup>2</sup>, Sultan Thanisari, Mullā Sheri, Faizi and some Brahmin pandits. The BG appears in the *Razm Nāmeḥ* only in an abridged version, and yet Piantelli gives it the honour of being the first version of the BG in a non-Indian language<sup>3</sup> (unless an older, incomplete Javanese version is counted first). Iranian and Indian artists were invited to illustrate the manuscripts with miniatures and the *Razm Nāmeḥ* Project cost the emperor "80,000 pounds".

Abul Fazl wrote the Introduction to the work and scholars ascribe to him a separate Persian version of the BG found in Mss., although no mention of this is made in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Charles Rieu (editor of the Catalogue of Persian Mss., British Museum, 1879) notes about Ms. No. 7676 in the India Office Library, which gives the complete text of the BG: "This version of the Gita is no part of the translation of the MBh written for Akbar, for in the latter the whole episode is condensed into a few pages... The present version, on the contrary, is full and follows the text very closely."

Khan<sup>4</sup>, who maintains that the translation is by Abul Fazl, comments:

"In the translation is lacking the regular division into separate chapters... Some of the terms have been rendered into Persian aptly and in a beautiful manner... Equivalents for some of the words used in the text are mentioned either in between the lines under the relevant words or in the margin... Incidentally, the translator has indulged in

2. Modi remarks about him:

"Badaoni was well paid by the king for his labours. But he does not seem to have placed his heart in the work. A bigoted Imam as he was, he found the task to be somewhat irreligious... He thought that all those who were associated with the work of translating the religious book of a foreign religion, were, as it were, condemned for hell. He says 'Most of the scholars, who were engaged in this work, have now been gathered to the Kurus and the Pandus (sic), and to those who still remain, may God (He is exalted) grant deliverance and grace to repent'." J. J. MODI, 'King Akbar and the Persian translations of Sanskrit Books', in *Ann. BORI*, 6 (1925), 99.

See also C. R. NAIK, 'Sanskrit Books translated into Arabic and Persian', in *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, XII (1963), 251-58; Y. D. AHUJA, 'The Source of a rare Persian Translation of the Gita', in *All India Orient. Conf. Papers*, XXII, Summ. 4.

3. M. PIANTELLI, 'Nota sulla BG', in B. CANDIAN, *BG*, Milano, 1976, p. 197.

4. M. Q. KHAN, 'Translation as a Medium of Indo-Arab Relations', in *Anuvad*, 2 (1965), 41.



amplification and has added explanations to the original contents. At places the translator fails to establish the relationship and the correspondence of the sense in the original text . . . The ornate and inflated prose manifested in this work reminds us of the characteristic style generally adopted by Abu Fazl."

One daring example of 'dynamic equivalence' is the use of the Persian-Arabic terms *shariat*, *tariqat* and *haqiqat* for the 'qualities' (*gunas*) *tamas*, *rajas* and *sattva*.

However, the name of Dara Shikoh appears on folio 1, as is pointed out by Ethé<sup>5</sup>. A copy of this work is preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and has the title *Āb-i-Zindagī* or *Water of Life*. This translation was published by Amarnāth Madan, (Delhi, 1928), under the title *Rāz-i-Maghfirat*, yet is ascribed to Fazl's brother, the poet Faizi<sup>6</sup>.

In the catalogue of the India Office Library it is stated that the real translator of this text was indeed Dara Shikoh, the brother of Aurangzeb. In about 1656, when he was ruling over Benares, he translated the BG and in 1657 several Upanishads (*Sirr-ul-Akbar*). In about 1800 Anquetil du Perron's Latin translation of this text (see above, p. 228) introduced the Upanishads to the West.

Again, in the Catalogue of the British Museum, we find a reference to Ms. No. 5651 with a version of the BG ascribed to Abul Fazl; this is, however, far less literal and written in a much more elegant Persian style. In Ms. No. 1950 (India Office Library) we find another version, by an "anonymous author"; No. 1934 gives the text of a *Tarjumā-i-MBh* and No. 1948 mentions another abridged prose translation of the MBh.

5. See M. MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ, *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* or *The Mingling of the Two Oceans* by Prince M. Dārā Shikūh (Asiatic Soc. of Bengal), Calcutta, 1929, p. 14.

6. To Faizi—the co-translator of the MBh of Akbar—is also attributed a versified Persian translation of Śrīdhara's *Gītā Subodhinī*. A Ms. with this text is found in the Bodleian Collection, Oxford, No. 1321. A *Padya BG*, attributed to him, has been edited in 1924 by M. J. PRASADA (Abijan Shah Darbar Press), and by Ramaprasad N. DATTA, Lahore, n.d., and as BG (with Maghfirat Rājā-tikā), by 'Hazarat Faizi Phappazi Ulmā Asar, Delhi, 1928. See also R. K. CHAUBE, 'Allama Faizi, the Translator of the Gītā' in *16th All India Orient. Conf. Papers*, Summ. 278; P. DAYĀL, *Fayzi. The Poet with his Gītā*, Allahabad, 1950. But, again, A. DESAI ("Life and Works of Faizi" in *Indo-Iranica*, 16 (1963), Sept., p. 28) denies any such attribution.

A *Srī Bhāgavat* (verse tr.) is attributed also to Faizi; printed in Allahabad, 1908.

## List of Persian translations:

See above, Hin. 140.

Several (partial) renderings of the BG (and of the MBh) into Persian are found only in manuscripts. Only a few references are given here:

No. 351 in the Cat. of Persian Mss., Bibl. Reg. München; Arabic and Persian Mss., Un. of Bombay, vol. xxxii, with a summary of each chapter of the BG; Persian Mss., No. 272, Lucknow Un. Library (No. 273 gives the MBh); Cat. of Persian Mss., King's College, Cambridge, No. 14 (copied in 1672).

See VERMA, B. D., "Glimpses of some Mss. of Persian Gītā", in *Proc. First Intern. Skt. Conf.*, N. Delhi, 1972, vol. 2, 134-45; "Persian tr. of Gītāsāra", *ibid.*, 146-65.

A copy of the *Tarjumā-i-MBh*, 1805-10 is on microfilm in the Centre for E. Asian Cultural Studies, No. 22, Asiatic Society, Calcutta; another copy, "probably prepared by a Hindu", is of about 1850. A copy of the MBh by P. U. Kaul (about 1862) is on microfilm in the Centre for E. Asian Cultural Studies, No. 19, State Archives Repository, Jammu and Srinagar.

Other references are taken from the list of MBh and BG translations given by F. MUJTABAI (*Aspects of Hindu-Muslim Cultural Relations*, National Bk. Bureau, N. Delhi, 1978, pp. 71-75):

— (AKBAR), see above.

1. CHISTI, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Mir'āt al-haqā'iq*, (BG in prose tr., with Islamic comments and interpretations), ca. 1655.
2. DĀSAPŪRI, Munśi Nārāyana, *Gulistān-i-jannat*, (abr. prose tr. of the MBh), Kūh-i Nūr Press, Lahore, 1868.
3. DĪNĀNĀTHA, Bakhśi, *Śrī BG*, (verse), Jammu, 1922.
4. FAIZI, see above.
5. FAZL, see above.
6. KHUŠADILA, Munśi Dayārāma, *Śrī Gītā*, (prose), Kashmir, 17th cent.
7. MUHAMMAD, Tāhir, b. 'Imād al-Dīn Sabzivārī, *Khulāṣa-i MBh*, (abr. prose tr.), 1011 A.H.
8. "NUDRAT", Lālā Hakīm Cand, *BG*, (verse), n.d.
9. RABĪ, Hājī, *MBh*, (abr. verse tr.), ca. 1744.
10. SHIKOH, see above, p. 335.

## 6.33. Translations into Old Javanese

This language deserves our special attention because "for fixing the text and determining the 'original' extent of the BG, (the) evidence (is) furnished by the Old-Javanese translation *cum* paraphrase (probably



dating as early as 1000 A.D.)'”<sup>1</sup>. This version quotes “in Sanskrit a total of 80 3/4 stanzas, while an equivalent of 56 stanzas is preserved only in the Old-Javanese paraphrase”<sup>2</sup>.

Firm contacts between Java and India were established in the Hindu kingdom of Śrī Vijaya, with its capital at Palembang (Sumatra), during the 7th to 12th centuries A.D. Later the Śailendras (Sanskrit *śaila-indra*, king of the mountain) rose as the ruling dynasty in Central Java, usurping much of the power of Śrī Vijaya. It was during this period that the marvellous structures of Borobudur (Buddhist) and Prambanan (mainly Hindu) were erected, along with many less important buildings. In the 14th century the last Hindu-Javanese kingdoms (Majapahit) succumbed to Islam. Evidence of these pre-Islamic times in Indonesia is shown by the place of the epic dramas — the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata — in the lives of the people, especially in Java<sup>3</sup>. Singhal remarks:

“Some Sanskrit inscriptions suggest that Indian philosophical and literary texts were carried to Java from very early times, although there is no record of it... Later, under the patronage of the great empires... Indian epics, such as the MBh and the Ramayana were translated and adapted in the Javanese language. Several recensions of the Ramayana exist in both verse and prose in Indonesia... The

1. S. K. BELVALKAR, *The BG*, (critical ed., 1968), p. XXIV. In the same context, the question of the omissions and the additions in this version is discussed at length (pp. XXIV-XXXIV). J. GONDA published a complete English translation of this Old-Javanese paraphrase: *Het Oudjavaansche Bhīshmaparwa*, Bibliotheca Javanica, No. 7, Bandoeng, 1937.

2. *Ibidem*. See also J. GONDA, *Aanteekeningen bij het Oud-Javaansche Bhīshma-parwa*, Bibliotheca Javanica, No. 7a, Bandoeng, 1937. Gonda remarks: “That the BG episode of the Bhīshmaparwa — which is a meritorious attempt at translating and paraphrasing — was, comparatively speaking, rendered in a less incomplete way than other parts of these texts is — in view of the great popularity of this Gita par excellence — not surprising, but why did the translator omit almost the entire chapters 12 and 13 and 15-17?”. ‘The Presence of Hinduism in Indonesia: Aspects and Problems’ in *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume*, 1970, p. 544.

See also H. JUYNBOLL, *Three Books of the Old-Javanese MBh in Kawi-text and Dutch translation*, Diss., Leiden, 1893; A. COHEN, *Bharata-Yuddha*, Batavia, 1860; D. VAN HINLOOPEN LABERTON, ‘The MBh in Mediaeval Javanese’, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, pp. 1-22.

3. See S. C. BANERJI, *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*, p. 578: “Among the Far Eastern neighbours of India, Java shows the most profound influence of Sanskrit literature.” See also S. WIRJOSUPARTO, ‘Sanskrit in modern Indonesia’, in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, pp. 147-59 and B. A. VAN NOOTEN, ‘The BG, a source of the Old-Javanese Ramāyana Kakavin’, in *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, 23 (1974), 143-54. Through the Majapahit empire the impact of Indian culture reached the Philippines and Taiwan. See J. R. FRANCISCO, ‘Sanskrit loan-words in the Philippine Languages’, in *The Adyar Libr. Bull.*, 24 (1960), 153-72.

MBh is even more popular. First translated into Old Javanese in the 10th or 11th century, it has been repeatedly translated and adapted... It appears to have captured the imagination of the Indonesian peoples, who consider themselves to be the descendants of the heroes of the MBh, and believe that all the drama took place on their soil."<sup>4</sup>

In the section *Belles lettres*, Pigeaud gives an interesting description of the *Bhārata Yuddha* in the Old-Javanese *Kakawin* literature:

"In the pre-Islamic period, belletristic Court literature consisted mainly of Old Javanese poetic adaptations of Indian epic tales. The metres were also Indian. These poems were called *kakawins*, and the literary idiom *kawi*. The connection with Sanskrit *kawi*, poet, and *kāvya*, poetical art, is evident. The oldest *kakawin* which has come down to us is the *Rāmāyana*... The Old Javanese *Bhārata Yuddha* contains merely an account of the final battle between the contending parties,... The Old Javanese *Rāmāyana* and *Bhārata Yuddha*, and other later *kakawins*, are best known in manuscripts deriving from Bali."<sup>5</sup>

#### 6.34. *Translations into Javanese and Sundanese*

Modern Javanese is spoken by about 45 million people. We find a rendering of selections of the MBh and of the BG by SISHOWAR-SOJO, *Tjatur Yuda*, Ngajogyakarta, 1955.

In Sundanese (spoken by about 15 million people and written in Arabic or in Roman script) we find two renderings of selections of the Mahābhārata:

1. SALMUN, M. A., *Dewarutji*, Djakarta, 1953 (selections).
2. SASTRAHADIPRAWIRA, R. M., SATJADIBRATA, R. & SALMUN, M. A., *MBh*, Djakarta, (1949), 1955.

#### 6.35. *Translations into Bahasa Indonesia*

Classified under Malay as 'the dialect most rapidly changing'<sup>1</sup>, Bahasa Indonesia is sponsored as the national language of Indonesia. Spoken by about 100 million native speakers, Malay has had very early contacts with India and its "literature and folklore are deeply influenced by the Hindu epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Her language has many Sanskrit loanwords and until the introduction of Arabic and later, Roman script, Indian scripts were used"<sup>2</sup>. It is also reported

4. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 147ff.

5. T. PIGEAUD, *Javanese and Balinese Manuscripts, Verzeichniss der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XXXI, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 87.

1. VOEGELIN, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

2. P. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 137.



that "the 15th century Malay author of the *Sejarah Melayu* or *Malay Annals* knew, among other languages, words from Sanskrit and Tamil and shows familiarity with the Ramayana, the Gita and the cycle of Panji tales"<sup>3</sup> (i.e. Javanese borrowings from Indian epics).

Literary Malay developed from the standard language of the Jahore empire in the 17th century, and the first translation of the Gospel in Malay appeared in 1629; this is recorded by the Bible Societies as the earliest example of Bible translation in a non-European modern language. From 1814 onwards, the Serampore Press (Calcutta) started to print Bibles in Malay.

In modern Bahasa Indonesia we find three translations of the BG:

1. MANTRA, I. B., *BG*, (Parisada Hindu Dharma), Denpasar (Bali), 1967.
2. PENDIT, Njoman S., *BG*, (Dengan Teks Bahasa Sanskerta Terdjemahan), (Departemen Agama), Djakarta, 1967.
3. ROMO, *BG*, (Ho Kim Yoe), Semarang, 1957.

We should also mention: EFFENDI, Usman, *MBh*, (Disusun dan di Indonesiakan oleh), (Pustak Rakjat), Djakarta, 1952.

BG 1.1 in *pandita* N. S. Pendit's version (1967) reads:

Dimedan bakti, dipadang Kuruksetra,  
siap bertempur, putra-putra-ku dan putra-putra Pandu  
apakah jang akan mereka lakukan  
wahai Sandjaja, tjeriterakanlah kepadaku.

### 6.36. *Translations into Balinese*

Balinese is spoken by about 2 million people, mainly in Bali, which is the only place "in the whole of Indonesia, indeed in all South-East Asia, (where) Hinduism has survived. The Hindu faith, however, has absorbed many local customs and traditions."<sup>4</sup>

The Hindu Balinese still recite the prose translation of the *MBh* in Old-Javanese and the stories of the *Pancatantra* are popular in the Tantri version of Javanese fables. A Balinese summary of the BG in Bengali

3. D. DEVAHUTI, 'India, Malaya and Borneo. Two Millennia of Contacts and cultural Synthesis', in *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume*, 1970, p. 520. See also K. NAG, *Greater India*, (Inst. of Asian African Relations), Calcutta, 1960.
4. SINGHAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 154. See also T. GOUDRIAAN, 'Sanskrit texts and Indian Religions in Bali', in *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume*, 1970, pp. 556-64; T. GOUDRIAAN, *Problems of Balinese religious literature in Sanskrit*.

script was shown at a Gītā exhibition in the Kuppusami Research Institute of Madras, 1950<sup>5</sup>.

### 6.37. *Translations into Malagasy*

A dialect of the West Indonesian group, Malagasy has two main subdivisions: the eastern dialects are spoken in Indonesia, the western dialect is spoken in Madagascar, off the East-African coast. A translation of the BG is available, in two editions:

1. RAKOTONIRAINY, J., *BG, Dikany avy amin' ny Sanskrit nataon, Tananarive*, 1939;
2. *id.*, *Fisainana Malagasy Ao Anatin'ny BG (na Sombin-tantaran-dRazana Malagasy fahagola)*, Tananarive, 1954.

Note: Apparently, no indigenous BG translation was made on African soil. An attempt was made, however, to prepare a Swahili version of Swami Bhaktivedanta's "The BG as it is". Ki-Swahili, a real Bantu language, serving as lingua franca in East and Central Africa would, indeed, be a suitable candidate for a transcreated Gītā. Though Gandhiji started his satyāgraha-campaigns among Indian immigrants, no BG is listed in J. Greyling and J. Miskin, *Bibliography on Indians in S. Africa*, Univ. of Durban-Westville, 1976. Amba Prasad studied 'India's contacts with Africa from the earliest times' (in *Vivekananda Comm. Vol.*, 1970, pp. 601-14) and concludes rather negatively: Indians in Africa did not present a homogeneous group. They did little to disseminate Indian thoughts or Hindu values. The Ramakrishna Mission and the Arya Samaj confined their activities to Indians.

5. See also D. VEDASASTRĪ, ed., *Prācina Gītā*, 1933; "text with Bengali rendering of the Sanskrit Gītā current in the island of Bali in the local 'Kavi' character, consisting of 70 couplets and supposed to be the original Gītā"; PRAKĀŚA, *Ādi BG* of 84 verses, "an amalgamation of two Gītās, one of them has been discovered in the Bali island near Java, inscribed on palm leaves...", Fyzabad, 1936.

About the Balinese classic *Sāra-samuccaya*, Raghuvira remarks:

"The *Sāra-samuccaya* is the Gita of the Balinese Hindus... The text of the Sanskrit ślokas in the *Sāra-samuccaya* has inestimable value for the textual criticism of the MBh... The *Sāra-samuccaya* has served the same purpose in Indonesia as the Gītā in India. Both are taken out of the MBh. The one extols Vyāsa and the other Krishna. The Gītā is more philosophical while the *Sāra-samuccaya* ordains mental and spiritual attitudes and patterns of behaviour." RAGHUVIRA, *Sāra-Samuccaya: A classical Indonesian Compendium of high Ideals* (Int. Academy of Indian Cult.), 1962, p. 5.8.

6.38.

Bang  
Thais  
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Note:

6. K. V.  
Vive  
7. S. S.  
1978.



This is an occasion to consider the trans-cultural presence of Indians themselves outside India. It does not seem to be the rule that where Indians are, there is found, *ipso facto*, the *Gītā* also. More than 5 million settled in India's immediate neighbourhood, Nepal, Ceylon and Burma. Some 1.7 million Indians travelled overseas to the East, esp. Malaysia, Fiji and Singapore. Almost 1.5 million went to the Americas, esp. Trinidad, Guyana, USA and Canada. More than 600,000 Indians migrated to the Gulf Countries, and an equal number resides in Mauritius alone. Half a million Indians are in European countries, esp. UK and W. Germany, and almost 200,000 stay in African countries, esp. Kenya and Tanzania.

### 6.38. *Translations into Tai*

Tai or Siamese is spoken by about 20 million people, mainly around Bangkok. Buddhism prevails in Thailand, but until the arrival of the Thais in the 13th century, there was a strong Hindu impact on the culture and the literature.

Two translations of the BG are available:

1. MANAVIDURA, Saeng, *SBG*, Bangkok, Prea Pittaya, 1972 (3rd repr.).
2. INDRAYUDH, *BG*, Bangkok, Sivalaya Press, 1979.

Note: Penetrating further into the *Suvarna bhūmī* (Land of Gold) we meet Campuchea and Vietnam, where Indian Brahmans were influential under the Funan king Jayavarman and the Champa king Bhadravarman (ca. 350 A.D.). Sanskrit inscriptions are preserved. A Cambodian record of 600 A.D. relates that Somaśarmā arranged for the recitation of the MBh in a temple<sup>6</sup>. From the 9th cent. Khmer kings erected the magnificent Angkor shrines, the most impressive temple being dedicated to Vishnu. The sculptors executed many scenes from the Indian epics. The Krishna-saga was, definitely, known in Laos<sup>7</sup>.

6. K. V. S. RAJAN, 'Hindu Epic and Purānic Traditions in S.E. Asia', in *Vivekananda Com. Vol.*, 1970, p. 504.
7. S. SAHAI, *Brah Ku'td Brah Ban* or The Story of Banasura, D.K. Publ., 1978.

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The following abbreviations have been used :

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AIOC	All India Oriental Conference
ALB	The Adyar Library Bulletin
AP	The Aryan Path
BDRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
BV	Brahmavadin
Bh.V.	Bharatiya Vidya
CHI	<i>The Cultural Heritage of India</i> , ed. by H. Bhattacharya, (R.K.M. Inst. of Culture), Calcutta, (1937) 1975, 3 vols.
CR	The Calcutta Review
GS	<i>Gitāsamīkshā</i> , ed. by Śrīkrishna Śarmā, (Śrī Venkateśvara Univ.), Tirupati, 1971
GT	<i>Gitātattvāṅka</i> , ed. by H. P. Poddāra and C. L. Gosvāmi, (Gita Press), Gorakhpur, 1939 (Hindi)
IA	Indian Antiquary
IK	Indische Kultur
IPC	Indian Philosophy and Culture, Vrindaban
IPQ	The Indian Philosophical Quarterly
IR	The Indian Review
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBHU	Journal of the Benares Hindu University
JGJS	(Research) Journal of the Ganganath Jha (Kendriya) Sanskrit Vidya-peetha / Institute
JIBS	Journal of the Indian and Buddhist Studies
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Religious Studies, Patiala
JVOI	Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati
KK	Kalyāna Kalpataru
KS	Kant Studien
MIS	Münchener Indologische Studien
PB	Prabuddha Bharata
PEW	Philosophy East and West
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
RPS	Research Journal of Philosophy and Social Science, Meerut
SG	<i>Studies in the Gita</i> , ed. by M. P. Paradkar, Gitamandal, Ratnagiri, 1970, parts I and II



- VK The Vedanta Kesari  
 WZKA Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde S.u.O. Asiens  
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft  
 ZFEP Zeitschrift für exakte Philologie

- An., *A Synthesis of the BG. An Arrangement of the Teachings of the Gita in their Relation to the Five Paths of Attainment, with Comments*, (The Editors of The Shrine of Wisdom, No. 2), London, 1927.
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# INDEX

- Ab-i-Zindagi* 335  
 Abhinavagupta 34, 37, 89, 92, 93, 97, 283, 318  
*abidhā* 75  
*abravit* 41  
 Abu-Fazl 335  
 Abu-l-Hassan 162  
 additions 37  
*adharma* 39  
 Advaita 88, 89  
 Advaitavādī 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 106, 106, 106, 107, 107, 108, 108, 110  
*Ādyagītā* 145  
 Adyar 244  
*ahamkāra* 82  
*ahimsā* 193  
 Ahmed-Khan 157  
*aikārthya* 87  
*Ain-i-Akbari* 172, 334  
*akarma* 262  
 Akbar 90, 166  
*Akshara-brahma-yoga* 40  
 Ālavandāra 90  
 Al-Bīrūnī 329  
 Alexander 291  
 Ali 163  
 alphabetical script 3  
 Amaracandra 34  
 Amaracandra Sūri 121  
*Amara-Citra-Kathā* 46  
*Amarakośa* 235, 288, 308  
*Amrita-(tā)ranginī* 104  
*Amṛitarāya* 198  
 Ānanda 145  
 Ānandagiri 88, 89, 97, 97, 98, 105, 110, 144, 149, 154, 155, 182, 185, 221, 229, 268, 319  
*Ānandagiri-yavārttikā* 98  
 Ānandajñāna 89, 98  
*Ānanda-sampradāya* 201  
 Ānandatīrtha 91, 102, 108  
 Ānandavardhana 34, 75, 87, 89, 92  
 Ananta-Yajñeśvara-Dhūpakara 94  
*anāsakti-yoga* 96, 147  
*Andhra-MBh* 216  
 Aniruddha 174  
*Ankura-vyākhyā* 98  
 Anquetil-du-Perron 288  
 antithesis 56  
*Anubhavārthadīpikā* 105  
*Anugītā* 241, 286  
*Anu-Gītā* 310  
*Anusmṛiti* 44, 194  
*anuvāda* 42, 75  
*anvaya* 42  
 Apabhramśa 122, 125  
*aparoksha-jñāna* 92  
 Arabic 115, 162, 288, 292, 338  
 Aramaic 3, 328, 332  
 Ardha-Māgadhi 121  
 arithmetic 235  
 Arjuna 35  
 Armenian 293  
 Arnold 46, 241, 243, 255, 291  
*arthavāda* 76  
*Ārya* 95  
*Āryābhārata* 199  
 Assamese 114, 117, 187  
 astronomy 235  
 Aśvaghosha 71  
 Aśvattha 306  
*Athārah-slokī-Gītā* 44  
*Atharva-veda* 334  
 Athavale 203  
*ātmā* 144  
*ātman* 39, 82, 255  
*Ātmanām-nityatva* 103  
*ātmāsamyama* 316  
*Aum-Gītā* 152  
 Aurobindo 88, 95, 128, 143, 151, 220  
 Avadhi 76, 114, 149, 171  
 Āvaranabhanga 93  
 Avesta 288  
*avidyā* 89  
*Avigītā* 94, 100  
 Bābū-Rāma 13  
 Bacchan 76  
 Badaoni 334  
 Bādarāyana Sūtras 86  
*Bagavadam* 294



- Bahasa-Indonesia 116  
 Bāla-BG 151  
 Bāla-bodhini-tīkā 106  
 Bāla-Gītā 152  
 Bālabhārata 121, 292  
 Bālabhāratam 98  
 Bālabhāratavyākhyā 108  
 Bālabodhini-tīkā 127  
 Baladeva 108, 182  
 Balarāma 98  
 Bali 31, 151, 338, 339, 340  
 Balinese 116  
 Balinese cloth painting 45  
 Bālopyogi-gītā-sāra 144, 194  
 bar-graph 117  
 Baron-von-Tischendorf 13  
 Baru Candidāsa 173  
 Beethoven L. 47  
 Belvalkar 173  
 Bengali 8, 19, 34, 90, 98, 100, 103, 103,  
 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 117,  
 143, 147, 149, 172, 173, 339  
 Bengali (first printed book) 175  
 Bengel J. 5  
 Berlin 172  
 Bernier François 308  
 Besant A. 44, 95, 97, 107, 150, 164,  
 182, 207, 220, 244, 312  
 BG-advaitāmrita 100  
 BG-amritabhāshyam 108  
 BG-amritataranginī 109  
 BG-artha-vivecana-prakarana 106  
 BG-arthaprakāśikā 100  
 BG-arthasangraha 103  
 BG-Bālabodhini-tīkā 142  
 BG-bhāshā 103  
 BG-bhāshya 102, 103, 105  
 BG-bhāshyatīkāvrutti 107  
 BG-bhāshya-tippaṇī 99  
 BG-bhāshya-vivarana-vivecana 98  
 BG-bhāvārthadīpikā 100  
 BG-gūdhārthadīpikā 101  
 BG-hetunirnaya 100  
 BG-Illustrated 46  
 BG-jyotishmatī-gītā 109  
 BG-krishnatoshanī-tīkā 110  
 BG-paramānanda-prabodha-nimani-bhāshā,  
 143  
 BG-paramānanda-prakāśikā 143  
 BG-prabodha-candrikā 100, 110  
 BG-pradīpa 101  
 BG-prakāśa 103  
 BG-pratīkanukrama 106  
 BG-Śankara-Bhāshyasankshepa 101  
 BG-sāra-sangraha 103  
 BG-sāra-sankīrtana 106  
 BG-saralārthaprabodhini 106  
 BG-sāvarakshā 103  
 BG-sārvārthavarshinī 100  
 BG-sārasangraha 107  
 BG-tattvaparakāśikā 102  
 BG-tīkā 103  
 BG-tīkā-bhāvaprakāśinī 99  
 BG-vīraśaivabhāshya 107  
 BG-vivritti 109  
 Bhadrawahi 161, 162  
 Bhagavad - āśayānusāranābhidāna - gītā -  
 bhāshya 99  
 Bhagavad-bhāshya 144  
 Bhagavad-vacana-vacikā 147  
 Bhagavadācārya 121  
 Bhagavadbhāshya 99  
 Bhāgavata Dharma 71  
 Bhāgavata-Purāna 228, 173, 188, 309  
 Bhāgavatas 64  
 Bhāgavatism 68  
 bhakti 39, 64, 66, 68, 87, 312, 316  
 Bhaktivedanta 250, 252  
 Bhaktiyoga 40, 70, 88, 144  
 Bhaktiyogi 66  
 Bhāminīśatpadi-Bhārata 224  
 Bhārata-manjarī 159  
 Bhārata-sāvitṛī 143  
 Bhārata 101  
 Bhārata text 62  
 Bhāratabhāvadīpa 103  
 Bhāratamanjarī 102  
 Bharatarshabha 76  
 Bhāratārthadīpikā 99  
 Bhāratārthasangraha-dīpikā 103  
 Bhāratasārasangraha 100  
 Bhārati Bosa-bhāshā 99  
 Bhartṛihari 292, 294, 302, 302  
 Bhāshā-gītā-jñāna 169  
 bhāshāntara 75  
 bhāshya 109  
 Bhāshyotkarsha-dīpikā 108  
 Bhāskara 22, 34, 37, 89, 92, 251  
 Bhatta 97  
 Bhāvadīpikā 103  
 bhāvanuvāda 75  
 Bhāvaprakāśa 103, 109  
 Bhāvartha-dīpikā 93  
 bhāvārtha 42

- Bhāvārthadīpikā* 101, 105, 150, 199  
 Bhavē V. 194  
*bhedābheda* 91  
 Bhedābheda-vādī 99  
 Bhilwara 165  
 Bhishma-stava-raja 44  
*Bhishma-stava-rāja* 194  
 Bhishmaparvan 38  
 Bhojpuri 114  
*bhūtārthānuvāda* 75  
 Bible 157, 170, 211, 219, 229, 293, 333, 339  
     Aramaic 1  
     Ben-Asher-Text 3  
     Codex-Sinaiticus 13  
     Companion-Volume 2  
     critical-edition 2  
     Greek 1  
     Hebrew 1  
     Masora 4  
     Masoretic 2  
     Masoretic-text 4  
     Masoretic-vocalization 4  
     original-text 2  
     Rabbinical 3  
     Septuagint 4  
     Societies 1  
     Targum 4  
     translation-aids 2  
     translations 1, 43  
     translators 1  
     Transmission 3  
 Biblical 159  
*bijam* 44  
 birch-bark 17  
 Blake W. 46  
 Bodhāyana 88  
*bodhi* 325  
 Bodhisattva 326  
 Bodhisena 326  
 Bohemian 322  
 Bolle K. 247, 249, 252  
 Bower-Manuscripts 17  
*brahmakarma* 144  
 Brahmānanda 95, 98  
 Brahmānanda-giri 98, 229  
*Brahmānanda-giri-Vyākhyā* 91, 109  
*Brahmānandī-BG-tikā* 100  
*brahmavidyā* 39  
 Brahmi 17, 18, 173  
 Brahui 217  
 Braj 114, 122, 126, 166  
*Buddha-Carita* 329  
*buddhi* 82  
 Buddhism 69, 70, 121, 325, 326, 341  
 Buddhist 330  
*buddhi-yoga* 95, 144  
 Bulgarian 115, 323  
 Burmese 326  
 Burnouf E. 46, 294  
*Caitachīdāsa-bhāshā* 99  
*Caitanya-caritāmrita* 102  
 Cakradhara 199, 201  
 Cakravartti V. 177, 180, 180, 182, 184  
*Camatkāri-tikā* 201  
 Campuchea 341  
 Canaanite script 3  
*Candraghantā* 29, 31, 107, 196, 284  
 Caranadāsīs 167  
 Carey William 235  
*Caryā-padas* 172, 173, 187  
 Cassette-Series 164  
 Catalogues of Manuscripts 168  
 Caturbhujamīśra 34  
*Caubīsā-gītā* 143  
 census 113, 124  
 Chaldean 333  
 Chang-Ch'ien 325  
*Chāyānuvāda* 76  
 Chezy A. L. 294, 294  
 chiasms 56  
 Chidvhabānanda 220, 239  
 Chinese 115  
 Chinmaya Mission Trust 47  
 Chinmayānanda 220  
 Christian Mission Press 174  
 Chutsuri 323  
*Ciddhanānandī-Gūdhārtha-dīpikā* 145  
*Citsadānanda-lahari* 201  
 Codex Vaticanus 5  
 colophons 39  
 computer 64  
 concatenation 56  
 contextual approach 53  
 Coolebrooke 30, 235  
 Cyrillic 322  
 Czech 115  
 Dādū 165  
 Daivajna Pandita Sūrya 89  
*Daivāsura-sampad-vibhāga-yoga* 41  
 Dakhinī Hindī 158



- Danish 9, 115  
 Dara Shikoh 288, 296, 335  
 Daryāpūrkar 201  
*Dasa Avatāra* 163  
 Dasa Nemai 179  
 Dasa Vallabha 179  
 Dāsopanta 201  
 Dattātreyā 166  
 Davies John 241  
 de Nobili Robert 211, 219, 308  
*De open deure* 302  
 Dead Sea scrolls 2  
 Devaki 63  
 Devanagari 19, 34, 320, 331  
*Dhammapāda* 17  
 Dhanapati 34  
 Dhanapati Sūri 89  
 Dhar Murli 44  
*dharma* 39, 78, 79, 82, 332, 333  
 Dharmapatha 326  
 Dharmaraksha 325  
 Dhritarāshtra 35, 60  
 Dhruvasvāmī 144  
 Dhūpakara 98  
*dhvani* 76  
*dhyāna* 316  
 Dhyāna Mārga 65  
*Dhyāna-yoga* 40  
*Dil-kī-Gītā* 158  
 dittography 5  
 Divanji R. 10  
 Divine Life Society 95  
*divyakarmayoga* 88  
 Dnyāneshwar 317  
 Dogri 113  
*durasadam* 242  
 Durgāprasāda 127  
 Dutch 115, 117  
 Dutreuil de Rhins 17  
 Dutt M. N. 245  
 Dvaita 88, 109  
 Dvaitādvaita 88, 99  
 Dvaitavādi 101, 107, 109, 104, 107  
 Dvipada metre 216  
 Dynamic Equivalence 49, 72, 73, 74, 78  
 dynamic equivalent translation 42  
 dynamic inspiration 49  
 Dynamic Translation 193  
  
 Edgerton F. 246, 248, 295, 316  
 Ekanātha 200  
 Ekāntika Dharma 71  
  
*Ekaśloki-Gītā* 44  
 English 102, 105, 107, 107, 110, 114,  
 117, 118, 143, 149, 182, 183, 184,  
 194, 214  
 epic 55  
 epic context 56  
 Erra Pragada 210, 216  
 Esperanto 115  
 experience 54  
 Ezhuttachchan 229  
*Ezour-Vedam* 294, 308  
  
 Fa-hien 325  
 Faizi 334, 335  
 Faizi Mubarak 45  
 Farrukhabad 31, 151  
 Feuerstein G. 254, 265  
 Finnish 115  
 first book printed 293  
 Formal Equivalence 72, 75  
 Frank Othmar 30, 289  
 French 9, 115, 118  
 French Creole 115  
  
*Gajendra-moksha* 44, 194  
 Gandhi 129, 192, 212, 220, 225, 230,  
 243, 280  
*Gāndhī-gītā* 160, 189  
 Gandhi M. K. 13, 180, 188, 191  
 Ganeśa 14, 62  
 Ganguli Kisor Mohan 242  
 Garrett J. 44, 224  
 Gattulāla 93  
*Gaudīya-gītā* 176  
 Georgian 115  
 German 9, 114, 117  
 Ghazna 329  
*Ghizā-i ruh* 158  
 Ghosh A. 183  
*Girvāna-Jnāneśvarī* 110  
*gita* 78  
*Gītā* (see *SBG*)  
 108-verses 44  
 388-verses 44  
 40-verses 44  
 42-verses 44  
 alphabetical index 9  
 annual examinations 47  
 authorship 60  
 Belvalkar edition 32  
 Bengali char. 31

- Bengali version 35  
 Bhojapatri 29  
 bronze plate 151  
 cassette-tapes 47  
 children 47  
 commentaries 96  
 composition 60, 67  
 Correspondence courses 47  
 critical text 85  
 date 61, 62, 64  
 devotional value 13  
 drama 47, 150  
 earliest translations 126  
 Editio-Princeps 27  
 editions 23, 30  
 first printing 13  
 first translator 126  
 Grantha 30, 31  
 historical value 13  
 index 270, 272  
 intentional structure 57  
 Jain 36  
 Kashmir-recension 36, 37, 109  
 Kashmirian Mss. 31  
 layers 66  
 LP-records 47  
 Malayalam Mss. 30  
 Manuscripts 26  
 mini-edition 45  
 miniatures 45  
 Mss. 12  
 Nepali Ms. 27  
 number of ślokaś 28  
 Old Javanese version 37, 38  
 oral tradition 15, 16  
 photographs 46  
 pictures 46  
 pre-Śankara-form 36  
 Rāmakantha 32  
 recensions 36  
 rural women 47  
 Sarvatobhadra com. 32  
 Selective editions 44  
 singing 47  
 single author 61  
 staged 47  
 structure 60, 67  
 students 47  
 subject-index 275  
 subtitles 96  
 Tantrik prologue 35  
 Telugu script 30, 31  
 textual criticism 14  
 Third Recension 38  
 Translation-aids 8  
 translations 9  
 transversal edition 45  
 Vulgate 31, 65  
 word-concordance 147  
 word-index 9, 10  
 word-units 10  
 written transmission 17  
*Gītā-bhagavadbhakti-mīmāṃsā* 107  
*Gītā-Bhāṣā* 153  
*Gītā-bhāṣā-tīkā* 145  
*Gītā-Bhāṣya* 88, 92  
*Gītā-bhūṣana-bhāṣya* 109  
*Gītā-darpana* 150  
*Gītā-Dhyānam* 35, 245  
 Gita diaries 45  
*Gītā-dohāvalī* 147  
*Gītā-eka-adhyayana* 146  
*Gītā-gāna* 143  
*Gītā-gaurava* 146  
*Gītā-gaurava-bhāṣya* 156  
*Gītā-gāyana* 152  
*Gītā-gītāvalī* 146  
*Gītā-Govinda* 243  
*Gītā-hetu-nirnaya* 110  
*Gītā-Jayantī* 62  
*Gītā-Jñāneśvarī* 143  
*Gītā-jo-sār* 163  
*Gītā-Karadinyāsa* 35, 244  
*Gītā-mahātmyam* 244  
*Gītā-navanīta* 143  
*Gītā-nididhyāsa* 108  
*Gītā-prabhoda* 145  
*Gītā-pravacana* 145, 203  
*Gītā-Pravacanāni* 99  
 Gita-Press 45, 246  
*Gita-ratna-mālā* 156  
*Gita-samvāda* 147  
*Gītā-sāra* 144  
*Gita-sāra-ratna-mālā* 154  
*Gītā-sāra-sangraha* 102  
*Gītā-sārārthasangraha* 101  
*Gītā-śāstrārthaviveka* 106  
*Gītā-Sūci* 170  
*Gītā-sūryapraśāsa* 155  
*Gītā-tātparya-bodhinī* 153  
*Gītā-tātparya-nirnaya* 92  
*Gītā-tātparyapariśuddhi* 106  
*Gītā-tattvāmṛita* 157  
*Gītā-tattvāṅka* 147



*Gītā-tattvārthacandrikā* 106  
*Gītā-tattvavāda* 151  
*Gītā-tatva* 147  
*Gītā Vidyālaya* 47  
*Gītā-vijnāna* 143  
*Gītā-viśvakosha* 109  
*Gītā-viveka* 156  
*Gītā-vivṛiti* 92  
*Gītābhāṣya* 147  
*Gītābhāram* 98  
*Gītābhāṣya* 107  
*Gītābhāṣya-Padabodhinī* 101  
*Gītābhāṣya-tippaṇī* 102  
*Gītābhāṣya* 89, 103  
*Gītābodha-vivardhinī* 100  
*Gītābodha* 171  
*Gītābodhavivardhinī* 103, 182  
*Gītācandrikā* 202  
*Gītācaritṛyam* 106  
*Gītādainandini* 45  
*Gītādarpaṇa* 105  
*Gītādarśana* 143, 149  
*Gītādisāratikā* 104  
*Gītāgovinda* 173  
*Gītāi* 202  
*Gītāi-Śabdārtha-kośa* 205  
*Gītākānda* 171  
*Gītālakṣhābharana* 109  
*Gītāmahātmyabhāṣā* 165  
*Gītāmahātmyam* 144  
*Gītāmālā* 151  
*Gītāmāna* 35  
*Gītāmarmānuśasanam* 108  
*Gītāmāthana* 156  
*Gītāmṛita* 145, 146, 149, 156  
*Gītāmṛita-nātaka* 149  
*Gītāmṛita-ranginī* 154  
*Gītāmṛita-sāra* 149  
*Gītāmṛitabodhinī* 105  
*Gītāmṛitam* 104  
*Gītāmṛitamānjūṣhā-vyākhyā* 99  
*Gītānuśilāna* 151  
*Gītāparāyana* 35  
*Gītāpariśilāna* 149  
*Gītāprakāśa* 168  
*Gītāprasasti* 35  
*Gītāprobāṇḍha* 156  
*Gītārahasya-prakāśa* 108  
*Gītārahasyam* 104  
*Gītārṇava* 201  
*Gītārtha-Candrikā* 146  
*Gītārtha-sangraha* 92, 101

*Gītārtha-sāra-dīpikā* 182  
*Gītārtha-vivarana* 92, 110  
*Gītārthabodhinī* 30  
*Gītārthacandrikā* 100, 153  
*Gītārthacandrikā-bhāṣhā-tikā* 106  
*Gītārthadīpikā* 101, 106, 180  
*Gītārthasandīpanī* 185  
*Gītārthasangati-nibandha* 108  
*Gītārthasangraha* 90, 98, 104, 110, 121  
*Gītārthasangraha-dīpikā* 109  
*Gītārthasangraha-rakṣhā* 109  
*Gītārthasangraha-tikā* 110  
*Gītārthasārasangraha-dīpikākhyā* 101  
*Gītārthavivarana* 104  
*Gītāsāra* 34, 35, 98, 99, 101, 144, 150  
*Gītāsāratikā-brahmasambodhinī* 107  
*Gītāsāroddhāra* 106  
*Gītāsiddhāntasangraha* 99  
*Gītātātparya-nirnaya* 103  
*Gītātātparyabodhinī* 106  
*Gītātātparyanirnaya* 102  
*Gītātattvabodha* 144  
*Gītātattvāṅka* 127  
*Gītāvacanāmṛita* 103  
*Gītāvijnāna* 151  
*Gītāvijnāna-bhāṣya* 100  
*Gītāvivṛiti* 104  
*Gītāyoga-vyākhyā* 156  
*giti* 78  
*Gītōpanyāsadarpanam-vyākhyā* 104  
*Glagolitic* 322  
*Gokhale L. N.* 9  
*Gopāladāsī* 201  
*Gopālamuni* 201  
*Gopibhāskara* 201  
*Gospel of Mark* 1  
*Gospels* 210  
*Govinda-Gītā* 160  
*Govindasūta* 103  
*Goyal J. R.* 246  
*Grantha* 19, 25, 34, 45, 92, 97, 104, 105, 110, 210, 220, 221  
*Greek* 114, 288, 289, 291  
*Greek Lexicon* 7  
*Grihya-Sūtras* 64  
*Gūdhārtha-dīpikā* 102, 146  
*Gūdhārthacandrikā* 103  
*Gūdhārthatattvāloka* 106  
*Gujarati* 8, 114, 116, 117, 126, 144, 144, 147, 147, 192  
*guna* 82  
*gunānuvāda* 75

- Gunas 82  
*Gunatrāya-vibhāga-yoga* 40  
 Gurmukhi 177  
 Guru 159  
 Guru Gobind Singh 160  
*gutakā* 45  
 Gvāliyarī 126  
 Gwāliyarī 157
- Hansa-nādinī-Bhāṣhā-tīkā* 142  
*Hanumād-bhāṣhya* 99  
 Hanumān 89, 98, 182  
 haplography 5  
 Haribhadrasuri 36  
 Haridāsa 164  
*Hari-gītā* 160  
 Hariharanātha 211  
 Harinātha 199  
 Harivallabha 168  
 Harivamśa 24  
 Hastings-Warren 234, 237  
 Hebrew 71, 116, 288  
 Hegel 294  
 Hemacandra 189  
 Hemarāja 151  
 hermeneutics 51  
 Hill 248  
 Hindi 8, 102, 106, 107, 113, 117, 118  
*Hindī-Gītā* 156  
 Hindustani music 149  
*Hitopadeśa* 236, 237, 243, 290, 302, 324  
 Hiuen-Tsiang 18  
 Ho-Mundari 114  
 Hoernle 17  
 Holtzmann A. 30  
 Hungarian 115, 118  
 Hussain Shah 174  
 Hussein Ambarkhan 201  
 Huttner J. C. 294
- Icelandic 115  
 Igdrassil 306  
 Iliad 24, 59  
 Immortal Pictorial Classics 46  
 India Office Library 237  
 inspiration 50  
 inspired text 51  
 interiorization 52  
 interpolations 33, 69  
 Iqbal 157  
*Irāmāvatāram* 217
- Isaiah scroll 3  
 Isherwood C. 249  
 Islam 332  
 Īśvara 90  
 Italian 9, 115, 118  
*Itinerario* 302  
*itisrī* 78
- Jacob ben Chayyim 3  
 Jaimini 179  
 Jain 98, 101, 121, 164, 212, 223, 225  
 Jains 189  
*jajnakshetre* 203  
*Jana-gītā* 171  
 Janamejaya 60, 62  
 Janārdana 98  
 Janmāshtami 45  
 Japanese 9, 115  
 Javanese 116  
 Jaya-text 62  
 Jayadeva 173  
*Jayakaumudī* 110  
 Jayatirtha 22, 34, 92, 97, 101, 108  
*jīva* 200  
*jīvātma* 89  
*jñāna* 39, 66, 87, 316  
*Jñāna-vijnāna-yoga* 40  
*jñāna-yoga* 40, 81  
 Jñānadeva 93, 168, 199  
*Jñānakarmasamuccaya* 109  
*Jñānaprabodha* 201  
*jñānayoga* 88, 89, 95, 144  
*Jñānayogī* 66  
 Jñāneśvara 39, 87, 93, 150, 207, 220, 222  
*Jñāneśvarī* 100, 144, 145, 148, 156, 166, 181, 184, 194, 196, 199, 201, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 214, 216, 226, 270, 281, 285  
*Jñāneśvarī-paribhāṣhā* 206  
*Jñāneśvarī-śabdārthakośa* 205  
*Jñānī* 70  
 John Gutenberg 5  
 John Rylands Library 5  
 Jones W. 12, 175, 235
- Kaithi 171, 172, 192  
 Kakavin 337  
 Kakawin 338  
*Kalām-i-rabbānī* 158  
 Kalidāsa 175



Kali Yuga 62  
*Kalyāna* 127, 147  
*Kalyāna Bhatta* 93  
*Kāmasutram* 321  
*Kampan* 217  
*Kanauji* 114, 170  
*Kandali M.* 188  
*Kanjur* 328  
*Kannada* 8, 102, 102, 114, 117  
*Kanto Keshab* 44  
*Karma* 39, 66, 87, 262, 303, 316  
*Karma-yoga* 40, 65, 88, 95  
*karma-yogin* 94  
*karma-yuga* 94  
*Karmaphalahetu* 262  
*karmasannyāsa* 89  
*Karmayogi* 66  
*Kashmiri* 113, 159 (-lipi 27)  
*Kashmiri Mss.* 22  
*Kashmirian* 104  
*Kashmirians* 89, 92  
*Kavi Rayar A. A.* 218  
*Kavirājamārga* 223  
*Kerala* 333  
*Keśava* 87  
*Keśava Bhatta* 92  
*kevala-advaita* 89  
*Khair* 44, 65, 66  
*Khan Paragal* 179  
*Khari-Boli* 126  
*Kharoshthi Ms.* 17  
*Khasi* 9, 114  
*Khrist-Gītā* 44  
*Kiranāvalī* 107  
*Komalagītānūvāda* 170  
*Konkani* 114, 116, 209  
*Koran* 328  
*Krishna* 35, 68  
*Krishna-Gītā* 145, 148  
*Krishna Sastri Gurjar* 25  
*Krishnadāsa* 101, 190  
*Krishnadāsa Shama* 209  
*Kristāna-Purāna* 202  
*Kshemendra* 34  
*Kshemendra-‘Vyāsadāsa’* 159  
*Kshetra-kshetrajna-vibhāga-yoga* 40  
*Kukai* 326  
*Kumaoni* 114, 170  
*Kumārajīva* 325  
*Kumāravyāsa* 224  
*Kundalini* 200  
*Kuppusvamy* 95

*Kuppusvamy Research Institute* 9  
*Kural* 288  
*Kuru-tribes* 63  
*Kurukshetra* 62, 86, 124

*Laghucandrikā-BG-tātparyanirnaya* 103  
*Lakhana Sena* 167  
*Lakshanā* 75  
*Lālādasi-sampradāya* 164  
*Laos* 341  
*Lassen C.* 30, 294  
*Latin* 1, 9, 114, 288, 294, 294  
*Latin Vulgate* 5  
*Law* 80  
*leather* 18  
*lectio difficilior* 5  
*Lin-Yutang* 68  
*Lingua Bramana Canarina* 202  
*linguistic survey* 112  
*lipyāntara* 42  
*literary criticism* 56  
*literary form* 14  
*literary translations* 58  
*Lithuanian* 115  
*Lokapriya-Gītā* 156  
*Lord's Prayer* 111

*Mādhava* 199  
*Mādhava-Gītā* 154  
*Madhava Panikkar* 228  
*Mādhava-Suta* 207  
*mādhavatmajā* 207  
*Madhusūdana* 87, 90, 93, 97, 101, 105,  
 106, 146, 146, 148, 152, 176, 178,  
 182, 185, 186, 195, 221, 228, 268,  
 275  
*Madhusūdanī* 153, 158, 185, 195  
*Madhva* 34, 88, 97, 100, 101, 101, 103,  
 103, 103, 104, 107, 107, 110, 128,  
 212, 220, 221, 227, 228, 282  
*Madhva-matānūvartini-BG-vyākhyā* 99  
*Madhvabhāshya-tīkā* 109  
*Madhvācārya* 23, 282  
*Madhvanātha* 208  
*Magadhi* 121, 122  
*Mahābhārata* 14, 80, 162, 167, 174, 188,  
 189, 198, 199, 218, 317, 326, 337  
 (see MBh)  
*Andhra* 256  
*Calcutta-edition* 24  
*editions* 23

- Kashmiri-recension 23  
 Vulgate-edition 25  
 Mahājani 192  
 Mahānubhāva 198, 199, 201  
 Maharashtra 121, 122  
 Maharshi Mahesh Yogi 95  
 Maithili 114, 126  
*Makhajane Isharār* 158  
 Malagasy 116  
 Malay 116  
 Malayalam 9, 19, 34, 107, 114, 117, 126  
 Malla Jagajyotir 172  
 Malla Narendra 172  
 Malvi 114, 166  
 Mānikkavāchar 217  
 Manipuri 114  
*Manoramā-bhāshā-tikā* 155  
 Mansur 329  
 Manuscripts 91  
 Manusmriti 294  
 Marathi 8, 105, 110, 114, 116, 117, 122, 126, 127, 143, 198  
 Marathi Bible 202  
 Marco Polo 317  
*mārga* 87  
 Mārgaśirsha 62  
 Marvari 113  
 Marxist 96  
 Maśārūvāla 156  
 Mascaro 151, 220, 255, 255  
 Matsyagandhā 60  
 Max Muller 86, 236, 286, 294, 294  
*māyā* 93  
 MBh 194, 197, 205, 208, 209, 212, 214, 215, 222, 223, 225, 228, 292, 310, 320, 329, 334, 335, 336  
*MBh-dīpikā* 103  
*MBh-tātparya-nirnayavyākhyā* 101  
*MBh-tātparyanirnaya-tikā* 110  
*MBh-tātparyanirnaya* 102  
*MBh-vishamaślokatikā* 103  
*MBh-vyākhyā* 103  
 Megasthenes 71, 292  
*Meghadūta* 236, 236  
 message 49, 51, 53, 73, 74, 75  
 metres 56  
 Mevari 113  
 Mewari-Rajputani 9  
 Milman 58  
 Mīmāṃsakas 76, 88  
 Mirza 163  
 misreadings 5  
 Mithilee 172  
*Moksha-samnyāsa-yoga* 41  
 Mongolian 115  
 Moropanta 199, 205, 207  
 motivational meaning 54  
 Mughal 122, 123, 157  
 Mujmil Al-Tawarikh 329  
*Mukammal falsafah* 158  
 Mukteśvara 166, 198, 205, 207  
 Mukundarāja 199  
*mūla pada* 42  
 Munster 5  
 music 251  
 Muslim 174  
 mystical text 54  
 Mythili 172  
  
*Nāgara-Gītā* 151  
 Nāgarasa 224  
 Naghmā-i-alvahiyat 158  
 Naghmā-i-khudāvandi 158  
 Nalla Pillai 218  
 Nalopākhyāna 289  
 Namboodiri 89  
 Nānak 159  
 Nānala 203  
 Nannaya Bhatta 210, 216  
 Nara 63, 326  
*Nara-nārāyana-dharma-gītā* 110  
 Narahari-Moreśvara 199  
 Naranappa 224  
 Nārāyana 63  
 Nārāyaniya Dharma 71  
 Nasir Shah 174  
*Navala-Sāgara* 165  
 Nazis 96  
 Nepal German Preservation Project 172  
 Nepali 9, 34, 114, 170  
 Nestle Aland 6  
 Nestorian 333  
 New Testament 1, 4, 5, 159, 161, 165, 219, 295  
 Nilakantha 33, 34, 35, 97, 98, 177, 182, 241  
 Nilakantha-Bhatta 90  
*Nilakanthi* 25, 103  
 Nimbārka 92, 99  
 Niranam 228  
*nirdeśa-yoga* 40  
*nirvāna* 69  
*nishkāma-karmayoga* 64, 92, 94



- Nivritti 199  
 Norwegian 115  
 Nrisimha 201  
*Nyāyadīpikā* 92, 101, 108  
  
 Odyssey 24  
 Ojha K. 173  
 Old-Javanese 34, 116  
 Old-Marathi 93  
 omission 5, 20, 21, 33, 37  
*Omākāra-Bhāṣya* 157  
 oral transmission 15  
 original setting 53  
 Oriya 8, 114, 116, 189  
*ovī* 199, 208, 209  
  
 padaccheda 42  
*Padārtha-dīpikā* 101  
 Pahari 9  
 Pahlavi 288, 292  
*Paiśācabhāṣya* 101, 104  
*Pakavaiṅṭai* 219  
 Pali 121, 325, 327  
 palm-leaf 17, 18, 45  
 Pampa 223  
*Pampa-bhārata* 223  
 Pancānana 188  
*Pāṇca Pāṇḍava carita rāsu* 164  
*Pāṇca-ratna-gītā* 44, 194 (204)  
*Pāṇcatantra* 246, 283, 288, 292, 293, 294, 294, 324, 329, 332, 333, 339  
*Pāṇḍavijaya* 174  
 Pangwali 162  
 Panjab 121  
 Panji tales 339  
 paperback 45  
 paper-making 18  
 papyrus 3  
*Paramānanda-prabodha* 168  
*Paramārthaprapā* 108  
*parātman* 22  
 parchment 18  
 Parrinder 248  
 Pātanjali 303, 330  
*pāthāntara* 42  
 Persian 9, 116, 149, 150, 162  
 Persian char. 160  
 personal experience 51  
 personal surrender 54  
 Peterson 17  
 Philippines 337  
  
 phrases 56  
 Piantelli M. 63  
 Plato 292  
 pocket editions 45  
 Pogang W. 46  
 Polish 115, 118  
 Portuguese 115  
*Prācīna-BG* 151  
*Prakāśikā* 103  
 Prakrit 113, 121, 122  
*prakṛiti* 82, 89, 90, 92  
*Prameyadīpikā* 92  
*Prameya-dīpikā-bhāvaprakāśa* 101  
*Prameya-dīpikā-vyākhyā* 101  
 Pratyaksha Deva Yathācārya 90  
 Pre-Śankara 99  
 preferred reading 7  
 Primitiae Orientales 175  
 Punjabi 9, 113, 117  
 Puranas 70  
 Pūrnaprajñā 102  
*puruṣa* 82, 89, 255  
*Puruṣārtha-bodhinī* 130  
 Pythagoras 292  
  
 Qalic Beg 163  
 Qumram 3, 4  
  
 Radhakrishnan S. 156, 197, 217, 247, 316, 330  
 Raghavendra 97, 221  
 Rāghavendra Svāmī 92  
*Rāghunātha-BG* 151  
*Rājadharmakathā* 160  
 Rajagopalacari 216  
 Rajagopalacarya 146  
*rajas* 335  
*Rājavallabhi-gītā-tikā* 169  
*Raja-vidyā-rāja-guhyā-yoga* 40  
 Ram Mohan Roy 236  
 Rāga Sarasvatī 188  
 Rāmacandra Khān 174  
 Rāmacandra Sidheśvara Pandita 94  
*Ramacaritamānasa* 166  
 Rāmādāsi 199  
 Rāmakantha 34, 87, 89, 92, 99  
 Ramakrishna Mission 95, 175  
 Ramana Maharshi 44  
 Rāmānuja 23, 34, 87, 88, 90, 90, 97, 99, 103, 109, 120, 127, 144, 147, 169, 176, 182, 183, 186, 212, 217,

- 220, 221, 222, 225, 227, 251, 253, 271, 276, 283  
 Rāmānujāchārya M. V. 218  
 Rāmavallabhadāsa 201  
 Rāmāyana 173, 188, 190, 223, 235, 291  
 310, 317, 334, 337, 338  
 Ramnad 25  
 Ranavīrasamudbodhani 27, 107, 142  
 Rangabodha 201  
 Rangabodhini 201  
 Ranganātha 201  
 Rasikaranjani-BG-tīkā 99  
 Rasikaranjini 101  
 Rāz-i-Maghfirat 335  
 Razm-Nāmah 45, 334  
 refrains 56  
 repetition 5, 20, 56  
 revelation 51  
 Rig Veda 46, 63, 308  
 Ritusamhāra 235  
 Roth R. 294, 294  
 Rudra C. 198  
 Rumanian 115  
 Russian 115, 118, 319
- Śabdārtha 42  
 Sacitra-SBG 195  
 Sacotala 235  
 sacred text 49  
 Sadānanda 89, 97  
 Sadr-kī-Gītā 158  
 Śaka tribes 63  
 Śaktivāda-bhāshya 177  
 Śakuntalā 237, 294, 305, 306, 309, 317,  
 319, 320, 321, 324  
 Śalibhadra Sūri 164  
 samādhi 82  
 Samaśloki 150  
 Samaśloki-gītā 94  
 Sambodhini-vārtā 127  
 Sāmkhya 81, 295, 330; 316 (see  
 Sāmkhya)  
 Sāmkhya-yoga 40  
 samnyāsa 316  
 samnyāsa-yoga 40  
 samuccayavādin 88  
 Samyutta-Nikāya 70  
 Sanatsugātiya 241, 286  
 Sanatsujātiya 310  
 sandhi 10  
 Sanjaya 35
- Śankara 23, 34, 37, 87, 88, 97, 98, 99,  
 101, 105, 107, 108, 127, 128, 144,  
 144, 146, 149, 150, 154, 154, 155,  
 160, 180, 181, 182, 185, 186, 201,  
 204, 205, 212, 215, 220, 221, 222,  
 225, 229, 230, 241, 253, 268, 278,  
 280, 303, 318, 319  
 Śankara Commentary 33  
 Śankara Panikkar 228  
 Śānkarabhāshya 27, 30, 152, 153, 212,  
 214  
 Śānkarabhāshya-vyākhyā 98  
 Śānkarabhāshyatīkā.i 104  
 Śānkarācārya 22, 23, 27, 36  
 Śānkarāchārya 283  
 Śānkaradeva 188  
 Śānkarānanda 89, 97, 145, 229, 230  
 Śānkarānandī 106  
 Śānkarānārāyanar 98  
 Sanketagitā 201  
 Sankhya 65, 70  
 Sānkhya-yoga-śākhā 169  
 Sanskrit 8, 101, 106, 107, 110, 113, 176,  
 325, 326, 326, 327, 328, 337, 338,  
 339  
 Sanskrit Grammar 237  
 Sanskrit University Benares 27  
 Santali 114  
 Sanyala 148  
 Sapta-sloki-Gītā 44, 104, 109, 143  
 Sāra-samuccaya 340  
 Śārādā 19, 34, 159  
 Śārādānanda 147  
 Śāragītābhāshya 104  
 Sarala-bodhagitā 156  
 Sarala-Gītā 147  
 śaranāgati 91  
 Śārangadhara Pusadekar 201  
 Śārārtha-varshini 108  
 Sarasvati Mahal Library Tanjore 27  
 Sarvatobhadra-vyākhyā 104  
 Sāstrānuvāda 48  
 Satavalekar 128  
 sattva 335  
 Satyabodha 100  
 Saunaka 62  
 Sauraseni 121, 122  
 SBG-Adhyātmika-dīpikā 102  
 SBG-āryasaptasatī 101  
 SBG-bhāgavata 102  
 SBG-bhāvaratnakośa 108  
 SBG-Manabhāvanī 154



- SBG-Mumukshu-bhāṣhya 145  
 SBG-sāra 145  
 SBG-sāra-sangraha 103  
 SBG-Satasai 154  
 SBG-Siddhānta 153  
 SBG-Tattvadarśanī 102  
 SBG-upanyāsa-darpana 102  
 SBG illustrated 194  
 SBGītāryasaptasatī 106  
 SBGītāpanishad 145  
 Schelling 294  
 Schlegel 240  
 Schopenhauer 289, 294  
 Schrader F. O. 36  
 scribal errors 5  
 scribes 6  
 Scripture 48  
 scroll 3  
 seed-mantra 44  
 Senapati P. K. 190  
 Senart 46  
 Serbocroatian 115  
 Śeṣha-Śrīgītā-bhāvacandrikā 107  
 Shāh Abdul Latif 163  
 Siddhāntālankāra 88  
 Siddhidātri (gloss.) 107  
 śīla 326  
 Sind 162  
 Sindh 121  
 Sindhi 9, 113, 117, 162, 329  
 Sinhala 114, 210  
 Sir William Jones 234  
 Śisugītā 184  
 Śivānanda 214  
 Śivarāma 202  
 Slovak 115  
 Slovenian 115  
 Smṛiti 50  
 Sogdian 327  
 source 36  
 Spanish 115, 118  
 Śraddhā-traya-vibhāga-yoga 41  
 Śrī-Bhāgavat 335  
 Śrī-Gītā-darpana 152  
 Śrī-gītā-jñāna-prakāśa 163  
 Śrī-Gītāmṛita-Bodhinī 44  
 Śrī-Khrishtu-Gītā 219  
 Śrī-Krishna-Kīrtana 173  
 Śrī-Krishna-upadeśa 155  
 Śrī-Madhva 91  
 Śrī-Sukhasāgara-SBG 158  
 Śrībālābodhinī-gītārthacandrikā 101  
 Śrīdhara 23, 34, 86, 90, 97, 102, 102,  
 107, 120, 145, 149, 154, 155, 176,  
 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 194,  
 195, 198, 201, 212, 221, 229, 268,  
 270, 286  
 Śrīdhari 99, 107, 144, 169, 177, 178,  
 180, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 187,  
 231  
 Śrīgītābhāva-candrikā 103  
 Śrīgītārthaprakāśa 153  
 Śrīkrishna-gītāmṛita 153  
 Śrīkrishna-Sandēśa-athavā-Hindī-Gītā 143  
 Śrīkrishnabījaya 173  
 Śrīrāmakrishna 95  
 Śrīsvāmī Ātmānanda 143  
 Śrīvarāha Purāna 35, 244  
 śruti 50  
 Stephanus edition of N.T. 5  
 Stevens T. 202  
 Stotram 148  
 stutyarthānuvāda 75  
 stylistic form 55  
 Subodha-Gītā 146  
 Subodhinī 101, 107  
 Subodhinīprakāśa 104  
 Śuddha-Dharma-Gītā 29  
 Śuddhādvaita 88, 93, 109, 110, 195  
 Śuddhādvaitavādi 99, 101, 104  
 Sudhindra Yati 92  
 Śūdrāmuni Śāraladāsa 189  
 Śuka Yogesvara 208  
 Śukladhvaja 174  
 Śuklavīdarśana 70, 121  
 Sukthankar B. S. 246  
 Sundanese 116  
 Suparnom ka cahacahā 155  
 Sūrasāgara 167  
 Sūri 97  
 Sūrya 97  
 sūta 60  
 Svādhyāya-śataka 145  
 Svāmī Chidbhavānanda 95  
 Svāmī Darśanānanda Sarasvatī 146  
 Svāmī Māyānanda 151  
 Svāmī Prabhavānanda 249  
 Svāmī Prabhupāda 95, 250  
 Svāmī Śivānanda 44, 95  
 Svāmī Svarūpānanda 95, 250  
 Svāmī Vivekānanda 95  
 Svātmānandavivardhinī 98  
 Svayam-vimarśa 108  
 Swedish 9, 115, 118

*Syāma-Gītā* 146  
 Syriac 1, 333  
 Syriac Vulgate 333  
*Systema Brahmanicum* 288

*tābiji* 45, 142  
*tādīpatra* 17  
 Tagore R. 188  
 Tai 116  
 Taittiriya Upanishad 79  
 Takari script 161  
*tālapatra* 17  
*tamas* 82, 335  
 Tamil 8, 105, 108, 110, 114, 117, 217, 339  
 Tanjur 328  
 Taoist 325  
*tapasyā* 82  
*tarjumā* 75  
*Tarjumā-i-MBh* 336  
 Tarkālankāra J. 187  
*Tātparya-Candrikā* 90, 97  
*Tātparyabodhinī* 106  
*Tātparyacandrikā* 109  
*Tātparyadīpikā* 108  
*Tattvadarśinīce* 108  
*Tattvadīpa-nibandha* 109  
*Tattvadīpikā* 93, 109, 110  
*Tattvadīpikā-prakāśa* 109  
*Tattvapradīpatikā* 104  
*Tattvapraśāṣikā* 99  
*Tattvārtha-sudarśanī* 108  
*Tattvārtha-sudarśanī-tīkā* 154  
*Tattvārthadīpa* 93, 109  
*Tattvavivecanī* 127, 147  
*Tattvavivekāmṛita* 155  
 Tavernier J. B. 308  
 Telang 240  
 Telugu 9, 19, 34, 98, 102, 104, 104, 105, 105, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114, 117, 148  
 text 2  
 Text emendation 19  
 textual criticism 33, 38  
 Thai 116  
 theism 68  
 Theodore the Studite 6  
 Thomson J. C. 28, 220, 221, 240  
 three-author-theory 65  
 Tibetan 114, 327, 328  
 Tikkana-yajvi 210

Tilak L. 45, 76, 88, 94, 124, 127, 128, 145, 151, 152, 158, 164, 186, 192, 197, 202, 204, 204, 205, 206, 207, 220, 230, 246, 285  
 Timmanna 224  
 Tirman H. 46  
 Tiruhata 172  
 Tiruk-kural 217  
 Tirumalācārya 101  
*Tirumanthiram* 217  
 Tirumular 217  
 Tiruvacaham 217  
 Tiru-Valluvar 217, 218  
 Transcendental Meditation 95  
 transcultural 83  
   dialogue 53  
   transference 73  
   translation 48, 71  
   translator 51  
 translation 83  
 transportation 20  
 transposition 5, 21  
*Tri-Kāla-Gītā* 44  
*Trimārgagā-Gītā* 149  
 Tripuri 114  
 Tukārāma 207  
 Tulasidāsa 166, 167, 169, 171, 207  
 Tunchan 229  
 Udanta Mārtanda 124  
 Uddhavacidghana 207  
 Ugraśrava 62  
*ulthā* 75  
 unitary composition 56  
 Upadhyaya B. T. 195  
 Upanishads 1, 70, 86  
*Upāsanā Gītā* 44  
 Urdu 8, 113, 145, 146, 149, 150, 157  
*Uttameśvarī-bhāṣā-tīkā* 157  
*uvāca* 41  
 Uzbek 115, 328  
 Vādirāja 34  
 Vairocana 326  
 Vaiśampāyana 60, 62  
 Vallabha 34, 93, 98, 104, 110, 194  
 Vallabhācārya 99  
 Vallabha-Sampradāy 167  
 values 87  
 Vāmana Pandita 87, 94, 166, 202, 205, 207



- Vāmanī* 109  
 Varavara Muni 90  
 variants 5, 19  
 Vasco da Gama 302, 308, 316  
 Vasudeva 63  
 Vāsudeva-Krishna 65  
 Vāsudevārjuna 63  
 Vedānta 295  
 Vedānta Deśika Venkatanātha 90  
 Vedāntadeśika 97  
 Vedantins 88  
 Veera Vaishnava 211  
 Veeraśaiva 211  
 Venkatanātha 34, 87, 91, 97, 98, 98  
 Vepacitti 70  
*Vibhūti-yoga* 40  
*Vidvadrājanā* 108  
 Vidyābhūṣana 182  
 Vidyādhiraṇḍa 92  
 Vidyāsāgar 185  
 Vietnam 341  
 Vijaya Muktāvali 169  
*Vijnāna-Bhāṣya* 150  
*Vijnānabhāṣyam* 67  
*Vikramārjunavijaya* 223  
 Villiputtur 218  
 Vimalabodha 34  
 Vinoba 99, 128, 129, 159, 193, 202, 204  
*Vishāda-yoga* 39  
*Vishamślokatikā* 105  
 Vishnudāsa 167  
 Vishnudāsa-Nāma 198  
*Vishnusahasranāma* 44, 142, 148, 194  
 Viśiṣṭādvaita 88, 104, 109, 110, 220  
*Viśiṣṭādvaita-Bhāṣya* 90  
 Viśiṣṭādvaitavādi 108  
 Viśvanātha 201  
*viśvarūpa* 328  
 viśvarūpadarsana 44  
*Viśvarūpadarsana-SBG* 153  
*Viśva-rūpa-darśana-yoga* 40  
 Vitthalanātha 93  
 Vitthaleśvara 110  
*Vivādārnava-setu* 234  
*Viveka-gītā* 164, 165  
*Vivekasindhu* 199  
 Voltaire 308  
 von Humboldt W. 225, 294  
 von-Schlegel A. W. 224, 289, 290, 294  
 von-Schlegel F. 294  
 von Tischendorf K. 5  
 Vrittikāra 88  
*Vyākhyānavaya* 106  
*Vyākhyārtha-Bodhinī-Bhāṣātikā* 155  
 Vyāsa 14, 59  
 Vyāsa-kūṭas 14  
*Vyāvahārika-Gītāsāra* 152  
 Wesley La Violette 251  
 Wilkins C. 12, 86, 175, 225, 235, 237,  
 240, 267, 275  
 Wilson H. H. 235  
 wooden boards 17  
 wooden leaves 45  
 Writing material 17  
 Yādavas 63  
 Yajnanārāyana 34  
 Yajurveda 308  
 Yāmuna 91, 98, 109, 109, 110, 182,  
 227, 270  
 Yāmunācārya 39, 121, 221, 223  
 Yāmuna Muni 90  
*Yathārthadīpikā* 109, 202  
 Yiddish 114  
 Yoga 80  
*Yoga-śāstrīya-ādhyātmika-tīkā* 151  
*Yoga-Soetras* 303  
*Yuvakom-kī-Gītā* 150  
 Zaehner R. C. 23, 247, 249, 255  
 Ziegenbald B. 219

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